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THE
HISTORY
OF
ITALY,

From the Year 1490, to 1532.

Written in *Italian* by
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,
A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Translated into ENGLISH by the
Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,
Knight of the Military Order of *St. Stephen*.

VOL. I.

Containing the FIRST TWO BOOKS of the
HISTORY, and the Life of the AUTHOR.

L O N D O N, 257679
4.8.31

Printed by JOHN TOWERS, in *Piccadilly*.

M.DCC.LIII.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

JANUARY 1, 1901

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION

PASSED BY THE SENATE

APRIL 1, 1900

ALBANY:

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PRINTING OFFICE

1901

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T O

The Right Honourable the
Countess of POMFRET.

MADAM,



SHOULD never have
presumed to appear in
Print, had I not had the
Honour and good Fortune of Your
Ladyship's Acquaintance. In a
Conversation Two Years ago, You
expressed the Satisfaction You
should receive in reading a faith-
ful Translation of GUICCIARDINI's
History in our Language. This
induced me to render a Sheet
of it into *English*, which Your
Ladyship was so good as to ap-
prove

DEDICATION.

prove of. As You are a perfect Judge of both Languages, I construed Your Approbation for an Encouragement; and, with no small Labour, have gone through the Whole History. If I find my Undertaking has answered Your Ladyship's Expectation, I shall have no reason to doubt of its being acceptable to the Public, which is the Height of my Ambition.

I am, MADAM,

Your Ladyship's

most obedient

humble Servant,

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD.



To the R E A D E R.

THE higher the Opinion the
 T World entertains of the Merit
 of *Guicciardini's* History, the
 greater the Expectation may be of seeing
 it rendered properly into *English*. The
 Translator, therefore, to obviate all Preju-
 dices and Prepossessions, thinks proper to
 give the following Account of him-
 self.

THE Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, *Cosmo III.*
 having had some Knowledge of the Tran-
 slator's Family, sent for him to *Italy* be-
 fore he had attained the Eleventh Year of
 his Age. He lived Eighteen Years in that
 Country, Seven of them in the Academy
 of *Siena*, and other Places of Study, and
 the Remainder at the Court of *Florence*,
 where his Royal Highness honoured him
 with the Order of *St. Stephen*.

THIS is mentioned to apprize the Rea-
 der of his being Master of the *Italian*, but
 at

To the R E A D E R.

at the same Time, he wishes that what he has acquired in that Language, may not have been at the Expence of his Mother Tongue. Apprehensive of this he had procured a couple of Sheets to be done in a very elegant Style; but in perusing them he found he had lost *Guicciardini*. Wherefore, considering that the Picture of a Friend, though not so finely coloured, would be preferable to another, less resembling, tho' more highly finished, he imagined the Public might be much better pleased with a true and just Translation, than with a polite and eloquent Paraphrase. He flatters himself that his Version will be found intelligible to every *English* Reader; if he has adhered too closely to the *Italian* Phraseology; he hopes he has thereby better preserved the Force of the Author's Meaning, which must otherwise in some Places have been lost. If he finds that his First Performance is well received, he may hereafter, from several Manuscripts, give the Public many curious Anecdotes relating to the Affairs of *Italy*.

T H E

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OF THE

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Y.

Major John

Young.

The Names of the Subsequent Subscribers will
be inserted in the next VOLUME.



T H E
L I F E
O F

Francesco Guicciardini,

Taken chiefly from Signior *Domenico Manni*
of *Florence*.

AMONGST the many Noble
A Families which adorn the City
of *Florence*, that of the *Guicci-*
ardini may be well placed in the first
Rank, both for its Antiquity, and on ac-
count of the Great Men it has produced.
Several of them have been sent on Em-
bassies, and employed in the most impor-
tant Posts of the State. They reckon Six-
teen *Gonfalonieri*, which was formerly the
Supreme Dignity in the Republic, for the
A Senatorial

THE LIFE OF

Senatorial Order was not instituted till the Year 1532, when Forty-Eight Senators were created with the Sovereign at their Head.

THE stately Palace of the *Guicciardini* still remains, and gives Name to the Street where it stands, near which is the Old Church of *Santa Felicita*, adorned with many of their Devices, and has many Chaplains in their Gifts. They were Lords of several Castles in *Valdipesa* ever since the Year 1150. That of *Popiano* was sold by *Nicolò Guicciardini* in 1445, for Three Thousand Florins to *Galeazzo Malatesta* of *Pesaro*, and bought again into the Family, in 1449, by *Jacopo* and *Piero*, but now they have only the Presentation to the Chief Church.

FROM such noble Blood then sprung our *Francesco*. His Father's Name was *Piero*, a famous Lawyer, and a valiant Officer, who was appointed Commissary General of the *Florentines*, and afterwards,

wards, in 1501, being sent Ambassador to *Leo* the Tenth; displayed such Eloquence in a Speech he made to the Pontiff, that the Audience affirmed, None but the *Florentines* were compleat Orators. This confirms what an Historian has writ, That our *Francesco* was endued with an hereditary Eloquence: For *Jacopo*, *Piero's* Father, was also a learned Man as well as a great General.

I have thought it necessary to make this Preamble, to give a greater Lustre to the Character of *Francesco*: For although one cannot well assert that Virtue is hereditary, yet to have before our Eyes the glorious Deeds of our Ancestors, is a great Encouragement to endeavour to attain it: For this Reason *Varro* thought it commendable, and useful to the State, that Men, like *Alexander*, should imagine themselves Sons of some Deity, that, inspired with so high a Notion, they might disdain to attend to mean Employments.

SIMONA GIANFILIAZZI, the Mother of *Francesco*, and seven other Children,

THE LIFE OF

dren, was also descended of an ancient and noble Family. As for the Time of his Birth, and some other Particulars relating to the Author's Life, they cannot be better ascertained, than by transcribing the Relation *Francesco* gives of himself, in a Manuscript of his own Hand-Writing, still extant, which is as follows.

“ I FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,
 “ Doctor of Civil and Common Law,
 “ was born the 6th of *March*, 1482,
 “ in *Florence*, about Ten of the Clock :
 “ The Name of *Francesco* was given me,
 “ in Memory of *Francesco Nerli* my Fa-
 “ ther's Grand-father, by his Mother's
 “ Side : I was also Christened by the
 “ Name of *Thomas*, the Day I was born
 “ happening to be the Festival of Saint
 “ *Thomas Aquinas*. My Godfathers were
 “ M. *Marfilio Ficino*, the greatest *Pla-*
 “ *tonic* Philosopher then in the Universe,
 “ *Giovanni Canacci*, and *Piero del Nero*,
 “ both likewise Philosophers.

“ IN the Year 1498, about the End
 “ of *November*, I began to study the Civil
 “ Law,

THE AUTHOR.

“ Law, and that Year at *Florence* I heard
“ the Institutes from M. *Jacopo Modesti* of
“ *Carmignano*, for that Study was lost in
“ *Pisa*.

“ *RINIERI GUICCIARDINI*, my Uncle,
“ was Arch-deacon of the *Metropolitan*
“ Church of *Florence*, and Bishop of *Cor-*
“ *tona* ; his Benefices yielded him near
“ Fifteen Hundred Ducats a Year, and
“ most People imagined, when he was
“ taken ill, that he would make over to
“ me his best Benefices, which I very
“ much desired, not from an Inclination
“ to lead an idle Life, but because I
“ thought that being young, I might be
“ in the Way of obtaining rich Prefer-
“ ments in the Church, with Hopes some-
“ time or other to be made a Cardinal.
“ *Rinieri* was not inclined to make a
“ Renunciation, yet he would have made
“ it in Reversion, especially if my Father,
“ for whom he had a great Regard, had
“ pressed him to it. But though he had
“ Five Sons, he did not care that any of
“ them should take to the Church ; be-

THE LIFE OF

“ cause he thought the Discipline very
 “ much neglected, and therefore chose
 “ rather to lose the present Opportunity
 “ of preferring a Child that way, than
 “ to sully his Conscience, by making a
 “ Son of his a Priest, with a View to
 “ Grandeur and Riches: This was the
 “ true Reason that guided him, and I
 “ was obliged to submit.

“ THE 15th of *November*, 1505, I re-
 “ ceived my Degrees in the Chapter of
 “ *St. Lawrence*, in the College of the Stu-
 “ dents at *Pisa*, erected in 1497: But I
 “ chose only to be Doctor of the Civil
 “ Law, because I thought the Canon of
 “ little Importance: My Sponsors were
 “ M. *Antonio Malagonelli*, M. *Francesco*
 “ *Pepi*, and M. *Vittorio Soderini*, and
 “ the same Morning I read my Lecture.”
 So far *Guicciardini*’s Manuscript.

IN the 23d Year of his Age, he was
 appointed a Professor of the Institutes at
Florence, with a competent Salary for those
 Days, and soon established such a Cha-
 racter, that he was consulted and prefer-
 red

THE AUTHOR.

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red to all other Lawyers his Contemporaries.

ANTONIO CIOFFI gives him the Name of *Clarissimus Jurisconsultus*, [a most eminent Lawyer,] Many of his Opinions are yet extant, and are preserved in the famous Library of Sig. *Carlo Tomaso Strozzi*, a Gentleman, to whom all Lovers of Arts and Erudition are very much indebted.

IN the Year 1506, *Guicciardini* married *Maria*, Daughter of *Alemanno Everardo Salviati*, without comparison the greatest Man in *Florence*.

IN 1507, he was chosen by many Cities of the State for their Standing Counsellor, and two Years after made Advocate of the *Florentine* Chapter, which was a very honourable Employment, both for its Dignity, and because it had always been filled with the most learned Counsellors of the City. In 1509, he was elected Advocate of

THE LIFE OF

the Order of the *Camaldoli*, and continued in this way of Life until the Year 1511, when the Supreme Magistracy thought proper to make use of his Talents in a more public Manner.

THE *French* and *Spaniards* had entered into a League against the *Italians*, and the *Florentines* were very much perplexed, not being determined whether they should engage in the League, or remain neuter. On this Occasion they appointed our *Francesco* Ambassador to *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, to treat about this and several other important Affairs; as he mentions in the 10th Book of his History. He left *Florence* in *January*, 1512, and after a prosperous Journey came to *Burgos*, where the King resided, and remained two Years at his Court: A large Field was here opened for his Improvement in the Management of Affairs: Many Events happened in that Time, which came within his Province to negotiate; such as the taking and plundering of *Ravenna* and *Prato* by the *Spaniards*, the deposing of *Piero Soderini*,
and

THE AUTHOR.

and the Restoration of the Family of the *Medici*: What concerned these and other Negotiations was transacted by him with universal Applause, and the Republic had such an Opinion of his Capacity, that, though several Occurrences of Importance happened in that Time, they never sent any other Minister.

THE King was also intirely satisfied with his Behaviour; a Proof of which was the great Quantity of fine wrought Plate, he made him a Present of at his Departure. On his Return, at *Piacenza* he heard the melancholly News of his Father's Death, which was something alleviated by the unusual Marks of Honour and Respect paid him when he came to *Florence*.

ON the 13th of *December*, 1515, *Leo* the Tenth made his pompous Entry into *Florence*, accompanied by a great Number of Cardinals. *Guicciardini* had been deputed by the Republic to go and receive him at *Cortona*, where the Pope, taken by his engaging Behaviour, or convinced, on this

THE LIFE OF

this Occasion, of the Truth of what Fame had spread of his Abilities, the Day after his Arrival, of his own accord, in a Congregation of Cardinals, declared him Advocate of the Consistory. When he came to *Florence*, he conferred indeed the same Dignity on *Vincenzo Paleotti* of *Bologna*, a learned Lawyer, who was Council to the King of *England*, and on *Lancellotto Politi* of *Siena*, afterwards Archbishop of *Consa*: But what is here said, is to shew that *Guicciardini* was the first who received this Honour, and that by the Recommendation only of his own Merit.

THE Pope's Favours did not stop here; for not long after he sent for him to come to *Rome*, with a View of employing him where he might best display his Talents. In 1518, he gave him the Government of *Modena* and *Reggio*, which in that perilous Time was a Place of Trust, and required vast Circumspection; which he shewed himself Master of, by deluding with a prudent Dexterity the Person, who, relying on his Youth, and Unexperience in Military Affairs,

fairs, endeavoured to make himself Master of *Reggio*.

IN 1521, *Guicciardini's* good Conduct in his Office obtained him the Government of *Parma*, from whence *Bocchi* writes he drove away the *French*, and confirmed the *Parmisans* in their Obedience and Submission; which proved a very difficult Task; for it was when the Holy See was vacant by the Death of *Leo*, and when the People he commanded were full of Fears, disheartened, and unarmed. He retained the same Post under *Adrian* the Sixth, to whom he discovered the dangerous Designs of *Alberto Pio da Carpi*, and got him removed from the Government of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*. *Giulio de Medici*, who took the Name of *Clement* the Seventh, as soon as he was exalted to the Pontificate, confirmed him in that Government. In the Year 1523, he prevented the Duke of *Ferrara* from seizing on *Modena*; in acknowledgment of which the Pope made him Governor of that Place, and President of *Romagna*, with an unlimited Authority: This was a Place of

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of great Dignity and Power, yet it was a very laborious and dangerous Situation, considering the Circumstances of the Times, the Enmities and Factions running so high: But his Prudence not only overcame all these Difficulties, but in the midst of them he found means to contribute to the Conveniency and Delight of the Inhabitants, by embellishing their Towns that lay almost in Rubbish, with good Houses, and magnificent Edifices. This rendered his Name so acceptable to those People, that they were overjoyed, when, after a farther Promotion of *Guicciardini*, they understood he was to be succeeded in his Government by his Brother. This happened the 6th of *June*, 1526, when the Pope, by a Brief, declared him Lieutenant-General of all his Troops in the Ecclesiastical State, with an Authority over his Forces in other Parts also, that were under the Command of any Captain-General; wherefore *Girolamo* in his Ninth Book writes, "When in 1527, the Citizens of *Ravenna* had reason to fear the intire Destruction of their Country, *Guicciardini*, Commander of the Pope's and all the Confederate

Confederate Forces, came to our Aid." There is an original Letter from the Duke of *Milan* still preserved in the Family, directed, *Illustrissimo Domino Francisco Guicciardino Locumtenenti Pontificio & tanquam Patri honor, In Castris Sanctissimæ Ligæ*; and ends *De V. S. come filio Francesco 2do Sf. Visconte Duca di Milano*; and another from the King of *France*, with this honourable Address, *A mon Cousin Francisco Guicciardini, Gouverneur Gen. du Pape*.

GUICCIARDINI, according to *Bocchi*, was excellent both in the Cabinet and Camp, and as *Scipione Amirato* observes, it was impossible he should be otherwise, when one considers the different Employments and Negotiations he was trusted with, and the many Consultations, both Civil and Military, at which he was present. *Posservino* writes, that he was very well versed in all Affairs concerning Peace or War; and *Beneditto Varchi*, in his History, has this Paragraph, "*Francesco Guicciardini*, besides his Nobility, besides his Riches, besides his Degrees, besides his having been Governor, and Lieutenant-General of

of the Pope, was also highly esteemed, not only for his Knowledge, but also for the Experience he had of Civil Affairs, and Political Transactions, a Subject he talked and judged of extremely well." *Dominico Mellini*, in the Description he gives of *Queen Giovanna of Austria's* Entry into *Florence*, calls him a Man of Prudence, and well versed in the Management of grand Affairs, relating to Government. *Sansevino* thus confirms all that had been said by others. "The Pope, and other Princes in the Alliance, were so sensible of his Integrity and Abilities, that, by their Authority, he opened all their Letters that passed through his Hand, whilst he was in the Field, and corrected and altered their Orders as he thought the Exigency of Affairs required. *Bocchi* in another Place calls him one of the greatest Men in *Italy*; which, indeed, *Guicciardini* has proved himself to be in the two excellent Books he has writ, intitled *Political and Military Advertisements*.

No wonder if a Man of such Parts was courted by all the Learned : It were to
be

be wished, that we could look into his Correspondence; but as his Letters, by fatal Negligence, have perished, our Curiosity, in this Point, can only be satisfied by some written to him; a Part of these are from Cardinal *Pietro Bembo*, Secretary to *Leo X.* and are to be seen in his printed Letters, and others from *Bernardo Tasso*, amongst which is that famous Sonette in *Guicciardini's* Praise, which is printed in his Works.

*Arno ben puoi il tuo Natio Soggiorno
Lascia nell Apenino, &c.*

IT appears from the Letters of *Bembo*, that he possessed the agreeable Art of engaging the Affections, both of private Persons and Princes: All our Histories make mention of the Pains he took in the Year 1527, to quell a dangerous Insurrection in *Florence*, when the Army of the League was there, under the Constable of *Bourbon*, at which Juncture that City would probably have been sacked, and a great Part of the Nobility murdered, if *Francesco*, by his Interposition, Counsel,
and

and smooth Speeches, had not prevented it.

SCIPIONE AMMIRATO, the elder, in his fine dedicatory Epistle to the great Duke of *Tuscany*, expresses himself thus, “ *Guicciardini* explains the Causes and
 “ Reasons of Things so justly, praises the
 “ good Actions, and blames the bad, so
 “ free from Malice, Prejudice, or Envy,
 “ and lays before the Eyes of the Readers, the Customs and Qualities of Persons, in such proper Colours, and all this
 “ with such Decorum and Majesty, that
 “ he creates rather Wonder and Astonishment, than Hopes of equalling,
 “ much less surpassing him: He seems to
 “ have been the only one, that in this corrupt and flattering Age understood,
 “ and was thorough Master of what belongs to the Office of an Historian: He
 “ banished all human Prejudices, and seating himself on the most venerable Chair
 “ of Truth, like a severe Censor, who is
 “ to pass Judgment, not on Citizens, but
 “ on all the mighty Kings and Princes on
 “ Earth, condemns one, blames another,
 “ ab-

“ absolves a third ; others he exalts with
 “ the highest Encomiums, equalling them
 “ in a manner with celestial Beings. It
 “ is not then to be wondered, that his
 “ History, translated into all the best
 “ Languages, flies all over Europe, ad-
 “ ding Courage to the Brave, reprim-
 “ manding the Poltroons, counselling
 “ Republics, admonishing Princes, re-
 “ straining Subjects within Bounds, and
 “ instructing Mankind in general.”

BERNARDO SEGNI writes, that he was
 the chief Favorite of Pope *Clement* ; that in
 1531, he made him Governor of *Bologna*,
 and was the first Layman, who had been sent
 to govern that City. He was in this Post,
 when the Pope made his splendid Entry
 into *Bologna*, on the 8th of December,
 1532, where he was met on the 13th of
 the same Month by *Charles V.* Our Hi-
 storian assisted at the pompous Coronation
 of the Emperor, on *St. Matthias's Day*,
 with several Princes that came to this So-
 lemnity, from whom he received many
 Civilities, every one courting his Com-

pany, for the Benefit they received from his instructive Conversation.

ONE Day the Emperor being informed, that *Guicciardini* attended his Levee, he gave immediate Orders for his being admitted into his Dressing-Room, and conversed with him on the Subject of the History he was engaged in. In the mean Time, one of the Courtiers informed his Majesty, that a Murmur was risen amongst several Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Army, who, for many Days together, had been desiring an Audience, without being allowed that Honour. The Emperor, holding *Guicciardini* by the Hand, entered the Drawing-Room, and thus addressed the Company. "Gentlemen! I am informed that you think it strange that I gave Admission to *Guicciardini* before you; but I desire you would consider, that in one Hour I can create an Hundred Nobles, and a like Number of Officers in the Army, but I cannot produce such an Historian in the Space of Twenty Years. To what purpose serve the Pains which
you

you take, to execute your respective Functions in the Camp or in the Council, if Historians, for the Instruction of your Descendants, do not transmit an Account of your Conduct to Posterity? Who are they, who have informed Mankind of the heroic Actions of your Ancestors, but Historians? It is necessary then to honour them, that they may be encouraged to convey the Knowledge of your illustrious Deeds to Futurity. Thus, Gentlemen! you ought neither to be offended nor surprized at my Regard for *Guicciardini*, since you have as much Interest in his Province as myself."

By Letters writ to him by *Pietro Bembo*, we are informed, that *Guicciardini* lived sometimes at *Bologna*, and sometimes at *Florence*, according as the Affairs of the Public required. In *February*, 1532, he sent a Letter to *Florence*, containing some Instructions; and in *April*, he was ordered by the Pope to come and reform the State, and put *Alessandro* in Possession of that Government. He obtained from *Clement*, when he was at *Bologna*, a Brief, in which

THE LIFE OF

were contained many Privileges, both Spiritual and Temporal for himself, and his Wife, and their nearest Relations. Notwithstanding his prudent Government, *Varchi* observes, that there were several in *Bologna* dissatisfied with his Severity, and in general they disliked to have a Layman for their Superior; but this must be said in his Excuse, that in those tumultuous Times he was obliged to keep every one, without Exception, in Subjection, by which Means he quieted that turbulent City, which he could not have effected by Mildness.

HE was in this Government, at the Death of *Clement VII.* in 1534, when he despised the impending Danger that he was threatned with by his Enemies for his Severity; they concealed their Anger in the Pope's Life-time, but now seemed determined to take their Revenge.

As he was not only a wise, but also a courageous Magistrate, he raised immediately a Thousand Men, punished some of the Mutineers, and provided for the Safety

ty of himself and his Friends ; in doing of which he put in practice this Doctrine, contained in his Fourteenth Precept.

“ HE who does not understand how to govern Cities, and People, ought to be taught, That by punishing a few he may quiet the rest.” And in his Fifty-seventh Precept, he says, “ Man cannot well be governed without Severity, because the Malignity of Human Nature requires it ; but at the same Time Care should be taken to insinuate, that Rigor is not pleasing to him that punishes, but made use of out of Necessity, and for the public Welfare.”

AFTER the Death of Pope *Clement, Guicciardini* was resolved to quit that Government, as he apprehended the People would no longer submit to his Commands ; but the Senate having considered that many Disorders might happen, if they were left without a Governor in the Time of the vacant See, they beseeched him to continue, promising he should have all Assistance requisite ; to which he at last consented,

BUT several Noblemen were highly dissatisfied with him, and among the rest *Galeazzo Castelli*, and *Girolamo Pepoli*, who till now had been Fugitives. As soon as *Clement* was dead, they came into *Bologna* at Noon-day, in a daring Manner, accompanied by several of their Friends, and by some out-lawed Persons, well armed. This Manner of proceeding was very displeasing to the Governor, who looked upon it as done in contempt of his Person, and therefore meditated how to resent the Affront. One Evening two proscribed Felons, who were under *Pepoli's* Protection, were taken up by the Officers as they were walking the Streets, and carried to Prison: *Guicciardini*, without any farther Process, ordered them to be immediately executed. Count *Girolamo Pepoli*, in great Wrath, got a Number of his Friends together, and was going in quest of the Governor to seek his Revenge; but the Senate sent some of their Members to *Pepoli*, to desire him to return to his House, and not occasion a Tumult, which he complied with for fear of disobliging the Senate.

So

So far *Pompeo Vizzani*, an Historian of *Bologna*; who also relates that *Guicciardini* ever after owed the *Bolognese* a Grudge. *Remigio* adds, that as soon as *Guicciardini* was apprised that a new Governor was appointed, he resolved to quit the Town; and although the *Pepoli* threatened his Destruction, because he had hanged two of their Bravo's, yet he took with him but a few Horsemen, besides his own Servants; and as it was his direct Road, he would not avoid passing by the Palace of the *Pepoli*; but, contrary to the Expectation of every Body, they remained quiet, without giving him any Disturbance in the Journey.

AFTER this happened the tragical and unexpected Death of the Duke of *Florence*, on which occasion the Senate assembled, and our *Francesco*, who was in all the secret Conferences, had Influence enough to procure the Election of *Cosmo*, Son of *Giovanni de Medici*, which gave Occasion to *Giorgio Vassari* to place him next to the Duke, in his fine

Painting in the old Palace, representing this Election.

WHILST this Prince governed, *Guicciardini* lived retired, without meddling in public Affairs, unless when his Advice was required. All he now desired was a quiet Recess, that he might have leisure to continue his History, already begun, to which he was earnestly solicited by *Jacopo Nardi*, who was himself a famous Historian.

BUT in the midst of his Retirement, Pope *Paul III.* coming from *Nice*, passed thro' *Florence*; where, first in Person, then by Letters, and, at last, by means of Cardinal *Ducci*, he earnestly endeavoured to persuade, I may say, even pressed him, to come to *Rome*: But he resisted all Entreaties, and all the advantageous Offers that were made him, which entirely discredits what *Varchi* has writ of his Avarice and Ambition. But as many are apt to judge of inward Motives from outward Appearances, they imagined his Refusal proceeded from his being married, and without Sons, which
made

made it impracticable, either for him, or his Descendants, to become Prelates or Cardinals. He might also consider, that, as there was no good Harmony between his Master and the Pope, it would not be decent in him to quit the former, and serve the latter. But the chief Reason seems to have been the natural Desire, that Men, satiated with Business, have for the Sweets of Retirement; on which being fully determined, he disengaged himself from the Pope's Sollicitations in a handsome Manner, and gave himself up entirely to the finishing of his History at *Emma*, his delightful Country-house, often mentioned by the Historians, because it was his, and memorable even then for the Encampment and Quarters of the Prince of *Orange*, at the Siege of *Florence*, in 1529.

OUR Author enjoyed but a short Time the Tranquillity and Peace of Mind he expected to find in his Retirement: For he died the 27th of *May*, 1540, in the 59th Year of his Age, and, as reported, of Grief. For the Duke, in whose Election he had

had so much interested himself, put in practice all the Methods he could devise, to oppress the remaining Spirit of Liberty in his Country, which he effected by impoverishing his Subjects. In the Time of the Republic, no Nobleman was qualified for any Post in the Government, till he had made himself Member of one of the several Trading Companies in *Florence*.* This Regulation making it no Disgrace for a Gentleman to keep a Shop in the Wholesale way, the Trade of *Florence* was become so extensive, as to render it one of the richest Cities in *Europe*. At *Pisa* is shewn to this Day the Place, from whence they say the *Florentine* Gallies set out, once every Year, with Woolen Goods for *England*, which they reached, by coasting along the *French*, *Spanish*, and *Portugal* Shores,

D U K E *Cosmo*, to lessen this Trade, promoted the Noblemen to places of Honour and Profit, without requiring the foresaid Qualification, and erected the Order of *St. Stephen*, from which all Traders were excluded. I N

* Noblemen in *Italy*, are no more than what we call the Gentry ; and though there is a very great Number of Marquisses and Counts, yet, as in *Italy* there is no Precedence amongst Gentlemen, they claim no particular Rank.

IN the Institution of this Order, he followed the Plan of that of *Malta*, the most material Difference between the two consisting only in the Article of Celibacy; for like them the Knights of St. *Stephen* make Proof of their Birth, fight against the *Turks*, and enjoy *Commenderies*. As the sagacious Duke knew the Passion of Mankind for transmitting their Titles to their Posterity, he made a Decree, That any Gentleman who would erect a *Commenderie* upon his Estate of no less Value than Ten Thousand Crowns, He, and his eldest Heirs Male, should enjoy it with the Title of *Commendeurs*. But in Failure of Male Issue, such *Commenderies* should devolve to the Order, which in the Course of so many Years has greatly enriched it. The Grand Master, who is now the present Emperor, has all these *Commenderies* in his Disposal.

THE Duke, to allure his Gentry into this new Order, endowed the Knights with many valuable Privileges, and amongst the rest that of no Executions being permitted to take Place against either their
Persons

Persons or Effects. These Privileges, together with a natural Passion the *Italians*, as much as any other Nation, have for Titles, induced great Numbers of the *Tuscan* Nobility to retire from Trade, whereby many Noble Families are impoverished, and rendered dependant on the Sovereign. † These, and the like Measures, were so grievous to *Guicciardini*, that, as *Bernardo Segni* writes, he died of a broken

† The Great Duke *Cosmo* the Third, when on his Travels, was treated in *England* with a particular Regard by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of Wine during his Life, and when any of them, or their Family, came into his Dominions, he never failed shewing them Marks of his Gratitude. In the Year 1712, on the Arrival at *Florence* of the Honourable *Thomas Clifford*, eldest of the Grandsons to the Lord of that Name, who had been High Treasurer when the Great Duke was in *England*; His Royal Highness conferred on him the Order of *St. Stephen*: And as I well remember, *Sir Henry Bedingfeld*, Bart. was to have received the Cross, and have been installed at that Juncture, had his Time permitted him to stay in *Florence*, till her Majesty's Permission could be procured, as it had been for the other. On the Death of the said *Thomas*, the Honourable *Henry Clifford*, his younger Brother, was knighted. We have also the Commendeur *Cosmo Nevil*, whose Father Count *Migliorucci*, descended of a very ancient *Florentine* Family, erected a Commenderie on his Estate, to which the present Commendeur *Cosmo Nevil*, his Son, by one of the Heiresses of the *Nevils* of *Holt*, is intitled.

broken Heart, and in Despair, because the Affairs of his Country were so ill conducted : Others have reported, that, unable to bear the Sight of the deplorable State to which *Florence* was reduced, he prevailed on one of his intimate Friends to administer him Poison. But *Remigio, Rondinelli, Giovanni Imperiali*, and several authentic Historians, intirely clear him from that Imputation, and assure us he died of a violent Fever.

HE was buried with Honour, but without Pomp, having expressly ordered that no Shew or Funeral Oration, as was customary, should be made, nor any Inscription put upon his Grave ; which last was observed till the Year Sixteen Hundred and Twenty, when the Family repaired the great Chappel, and the following Inscription was ordered to be engraved.

FRANCISCO GUICCIARDINO Senat.

Petri F.

Vigentem ætatem, rebus Maximis

Agendis impendit

In Conscribenda Præclara Historia

Vergentem

Cuius

THE LIFE OF

*Cuius Negocium an Ocium**Gloriosius incertum**Nisi Ocii Lumen Negocii Famant**Clariorem reddidisset.*

FRANCESCO was tall, and of a venerable Aspect; he had large Shoulders, a plain Face, a strong and robust Constitution. The Family have a Picture of him, that seems to have been drawn in those Days; such another is in the House of Signor *Nicolò Panciatichi*: One of them probably is that mentioned by *Giorgio Vasari*, in the Third Part of his Lives of the Painters, where he says, “At that Time I painted several Pieces, and amongst the rest the Picture of *Messèr Francesco Guicciardini*, who was just returned from *Bologna*, at his Country House near *Montici*, which pretty well resembled him, and was admired.” One of his Pictures is to be seen in the Great Duke’s Gallery, in the left Wing, amongst the famous Historians, and another in the right, amongst the Men of great Learning. There is also in the Museum of Sig. *Carlo Tomaso Strozzi*, a Brass Medal, struck in those Days,

which

which seems to have a good Resemblance; on the Backside is represented a Rock, without any Inscription, alluding to his Constancy and Intrepidity.

ALL who make mention of him agree, that he was a great Professor of the Law, Learned, Upright, and Incorrupt: Of this latter he gave a sufficient Proof, by leaving so little Wealth, after the numberless Opportunities he had of accumulating Riches. He was of a quick and high Conception, of singular Judgment, had a good Memory, was profound and prudent in his Counsels, efficacious in persuading, eloquent in Speech, and had a peculiar Talent in describing the Characters of Men. He was choleric, but not rash, affable, but no Lover of Jest, preserving ever a certain Gravity. He wrote several Books, as the *Sacking of Rome*, *Considerations on State Affairs*, *Counsels and Admonitions*, some Letters, several Law Cases, and an Epistle in Verse, which makes *Crescimbeni* place him amongst the *Tuscan Poets*.

ENOUGH has been said of his History ; to which only can be added, that it was immediately translated into *Latin*, and most of the *European* Languages, which is seldom the Case of any modern History, unless of extraordinary Merit.

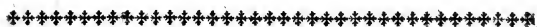
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI left a Wife, who lived till the Year 1559, and Three Daughters. Two married into the Family of the *Capponi*, and the other into that of *Ducci*. He had Three Brothers, *Luigi*, *Jacopo*, and *Girolamo* : From *Jacopo* came the famous Author of the Commentaries of *Europe*, from 1529 to 1560, who also wrote a Description of the *Low Countries*, &c. His Name was *Lodovico*, and lies buried at *Antwerp*. From his other Brother, the Senator, *Girolamo* is descended, in a direct Line, *Francesco Maria Gaetano*, who was a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his late Royal Highness the Grand-Duke *Cosmo*.





Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F

The W A R S in I T A L Y.



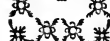


B O O K I.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

The First Book treats of the Causes which produced the Italian Wars. The Expedition of Charles the Eighth, King of France, into Italy. The Expulsion of Piero de Medici from Florence. The Rebellion of Pisa. The Conquest of Naples.

 **P R O P O S E** to relate what past *A. D.*
1490.
I in our Memory in *Italy*, since 
 the *French*, invited by our own *The Au-*
thor's In-
tention,
P r i n c e s, came with powerful Armies,
B and

A. D. and interrupted her Repose: A Subject,
¹⁴⁹⁰ full of melancholy Events; and of such
Calamities, as the Almighty is wont, in
his Displeasure, to inflict on wretched
Mortals, for their Impieties and Wicked-
ness. From the Knowledge of so
many, so various, and so important
Incidents, every one may draw Instructions
of some sort or other, conducive both to
his own, and to the Publick Good. By
numberless Examples, it will evidently
appear, that human Affairs are as subject
to Change and Fluctuation, as the Waters
of the Sea, agitated by the Winds: And
likewise, how pernicious often to them-
selves, and ever to their People, are the
precipitate Measures of our Rulers, when
actuated only by the Allurement of some
vain Project, or present Pleasure and
Advantage. Such Princes never allow
themselves Leisure to reflect on the Insta-
bility of Fortune; but, perverting the
Use of that Power, which was given them
to do good, become the Authors of Dis-
quiet and Confusion, by their Misconduct
and Ambition.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

3

'ERE I proceed to give my Reader an Account of the Troubles in *Italy*, together with the Causes from whence so many Evils were deriv'd; it will not be improper to observe, that our Calamities affected us with so much the greater Terror and Sensibility, as the Minds of Men were perfectly at Ease, and the Country, at that Time, in a State of profound Peace and Tranquillity. It is certain, that for above a thousand Years back, (at which Period, the Roman Empire, weaken'd by a Change of her antient Institutions, began to fall off from that Pitch of Grandeur, to the attaining of which, the most incredible Virtue and good Fortune had equally contributed) *Italy* had at no Time enjoy'd a State of such compleat Prosperity and Repose, as in the Year 1490; and some Time before and after.

A. D.
1490

The State
of *Italy* in
1490.

THE People too had taken Advantage of this Halcyon Season, and been busied in cultivating all their Lands, as well Mountains as Vallies; and being under no Foreign Influence, but govern'd by their own Princes, *Italy* not only abounded

A. D.
1490

with Inhabitants and Riches, but grew renown'd for the Grandeur and Magnificence of her Sovereigns ; for the Splendor of many noble and well-built Cities ; for the Seat and Majesty of Religion ; and for a Number of great Men, learned in all Arts and Sciences. She had also no small Share of Military Glory, according to the Knowledge and Practice of Arms in those Days.

*Lorenzo de
Medici.*

A N happy Concurrence of Causes had preserv'd her in this flourishing Condition. Amongst the rest, common Fame ascribed no small Share, to the Virtue and active Spirit of *Lorenzo de Medici* : A Citizen of such distinguished Merit in the State of *Florence*, that the whole Affairs of that Republick were conducted, as he thought proper to advise or direct. And it was, indeed, to the Prudence of her Councils, the Happiness of her Situation, and her Opulency, that this Common-Wealth chiefly owed her Power and Influence ; for the Extent of its Dominion was not great.

LORENZO,


THE WARS IN ITALY: 5

L O R E N Z O, by Marriage, had made a strict Alliance with Pope *Innocent* the Eighth; which gave him still greater Credit and Authority with the Princes of *Italy*. He knew how destructive it would prove, both to himself and the Republick of *Florence*, if any of them should increase his Dominions, at the Expence of his Neighbours; and was therefore ever watchful, to prevent the most minute Cause of Strife or Misunderstanding among them; lest the Ballance of Power, which then subsisted in *Italy*, should suffer any Alteration.

F E R D I N A N D O of *Arragon*, King of *Naples*, was in the same Disposition: A very sagacious Prince, and highly esteem'd; tho' formerly reputed to have had ambitious Views. He was instigated, at this very Time, by *Alfonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, his eldest Son, to resent the Injury done to *Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who had married *Alfonso's* Daughter. The Duke had been excluded from the Administration of all publick Affairs, by his Uncle *Lodovico Sforza*; who, through

A. D.

1490.

 the Weakness and dissolute Behaviour of *Bona*, this young Prince's Mother, had procured for himself the Tuition of him. Having enjoy'd the Regency Ten Years together, and, by little and little, got into his Possession all the Fortresses and Treasure of the Country; he at length refused, under Pretence of his Nephew's want of Capacity, to resign his Office; and continued to govern, (tho' his Kinsman was above Twenty Years old) not as Guardian, but as Duke: Yet he did not formally assume that Title.

F E R D I N A N D O, however, remain'd attentive to his first Object; which was the Preservation of the Publick Peace: And, therefore, would neither gratify his own warlike Disposition, nor the just Resentment of his Son, at the Hazard of so invaluable a Blessing. But he was the more cautious of creating any Divisions in *Italy*, because he had perceived, in some late dangerous Commotions, that he was hated by his Subjects; particularly, by a Party among his Barons, who were still attach'd to the old *French* Interest; and,

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as he apprehended, wou'd, in case of any Rupture, invite them to invade his Dominions. To this Motive may be added, a Desire he had to counter-balance the formidable Power of the *Venetians*, which at that Time alarm'd all *Italy*; and he was sensible, that his Union with the other Powers, was requisite for that Purpose.

A. D.
1490.

L O D O V I C O S F O R Z A, tho' of a turbulent and ambitious Temper, was obliged to pursue the same Measures. For the *Venetian* Power was as much dreaded by the Sovereigns of *Milan*, as by other Princes. Besides, it was much easier for him to preserve his usurp'd Authority in a Time of Peace and Tranquillity, than amidst the Confusion and Casualties of War: And tho' he was always apprehensive of *Ferdinando*, yet he cou'd depend upon the peaceable Disposition of *Lorenzo de Medici*, and his Jealousy of the King of *Naples*. He was persuaded, moreover, that the Animosities which then subsisted between *Ferdinando* and the *Venetians*, render'd an

A. D. 1490. Union between them impracticable : And being satisfy'd that he would find it dangerous to act without, and difficult to procure, an Alliance, he thought himself secure from any Attempt that could be made against him from that Quarter.

THERE was then the same Inclination for Peace in *Ferdinando*, *Lodovico*, and *Lorenzo* ; partly from the same, and partly from different Motives : So that a Confederacy many Years before contracted, in the Name of *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, *Giov. Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*, and the Republick of *Florence*, for the mutual Defence of each other's Dominions, was with Ease corroborated and confirm'd.

THIS League, of some Years standing, as I observ'd, but interrupted by various Accidents, was renew'd for Twenty-five Years, in 1480, and acceded to by all the inferior Powers of *Italy*. The chief Design of the contracting Parties was to keep down the Power of the *Venetians* ; who were superior to any of the Confederates,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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federates separately, but notable to cope with them when united.

A. D.
1490.

THEIR Senate seem'd to consider themselves, and acted, as a Body, that had little or no Connection with the other People of *Italy*: Widening every Breach, and cherishing and fomenting Discord amongst them, in hopes of attaining, by these Means, the Sovereignty of *Italy*. The whole Tenor of their Councils and Conduct manifested their Design: But it appear'd most plainly, when, upon the Death of *Philippe Maria Visconti*, Duke of *Milan*, they attempted, under the plausible Pretence of preserving the Liberties of the *Milaneze*, to make themselves Masters of that Dutchy: And in a more recent Instance, when with open Violence they endeavour'd to seize the Dukedom of *Ferrara*.

THIS Confederacy produced the intended Effect, so far as to restrain the Ambition of the *Venetians*; but it did not unite the Confederates, in a sincere and solid Friendship among themselves. Their Envy

A. D.
1490.

Envy and Emulation of each other, made them watchful of every Motion, and jealous of every Measure, that they conceiv'd might any way encrease the Power or Credit of their Neighbours. Nevertheless, this did not make the Peace less secure : On the contrary, it created a most ardent Impatience in them all, to quench immediately those Sparks, which, if neglected, might break out into a general Conflagration.

THIS was then the State of Affairs ; these were the Foundations for the Tranquillity of *Italy* ; so connected, and counterpois'd, that there was not only no Appearance of a present Change, but the most discerning Person cou'd not devise, by what Counsels, Accidents, or Powers, such a Peace cou'd be disturb'd.

1492.
The
Death of
*Lorenzo de
Medici.*

IN the Year 1492, *Lorenzo de Medici* was taken off by a premature Death ; not being quite Forty-four Years of Age. His Death was a grievous Stroke to his Country ; which lost in him a Citizen, who in Point of Reputation, Prudence, and

THE WARS IN ITALY. 11

and Understanding, was qualify'd for the greatest Undertakings: A Citizen, who not only enjoy'd himself, but communicated to those about him, all those Advantages, which usually attend a Person in his Situation, during the Course of a long Peace. His Death was indeed lamented by all *Italy*: Not only on Account of his Zeal and Sollicitude for the Publick Good, but for his great, and successful Diligence, in moderating and curbing the frequent Jealousies and Dissentions of *Ferdinando* and *Lodovico Sforza*, Princes of equal Ambition and Power.

L O R E N Z O's Death was follow'd by that of Pope *Innocent* the Eighth; which laid the Foundation of further Calamities. The Publick had been but little benefited by him: Yet he was commendable in one Particular; which was, his laying down the Arms he had taken up, at the Commencement of his Reign, against *Ferdinando*, at the Instigation of his discontented Barons: After which, he gave himself up entirely to Indolence and Ease, not meddling, nor interesting himself

A. D.
1492.

Death of
Innocent
the 8th.

A. D. self in any Publick Affairs, which might
 1492. disturb the Peace of *Italy*.

Election
 of *Alex-*
ander 6th.

To *Innocent* succeeded *Roderigo Borgia* of *Valenza*, a Royal City in *Spain*. He was an antient Cardinal, and made the best Figure in *Rome*. His Election was owing partly to the Disputes that arose between the two Cardinals, Heads of Factions, *Ascanio Sforza* and *Giuliano* of *St. Piero in Vincola*, but chiefly to a Simony, unheard of in those Days: For *Borgia* openly corrupted many of the Cardinals, some with Money, and others with Promises of profitable Places and Benefices, of which he had many at that Time in his Power; and they, without any Regard to the Precepts of the Gospel, were not asham'd of making a Traffick of the Sacred Treasures, under the Name of Divine Authority, and that in the most high and eminent Seat of the Christian Religion.

CARDINAL ASCANIO had the principal Hand in this detestable Work, and was employ'd as Agent for such
 abominable

THE WARS IN ITALY. 13

abominable Contracts. He influenced several with Hopes of Preferment, and also by his bad Example : For his Heart being corrupted by an immoderate Thirst of Riches, he bargain'd, for the Price of his Iniquity, to have the Vice-Chancellorship, (the most profitable Post in the Pope's Disposal) the Revenues of divers Churches and Castles, and even the Pope's own Family-Palace, with all its magnificent Furniture, of an immense Value. But Divine Justice overtook him; for he became an Object of Scorn and Hatred to all Mankind, who were fill'd with Horror at an Election, procured by such black and enormous Artifices; especially as *Borgia's* impious Life was every where notorious. * The King of *Naples*, upon hearing the News, dissembled his Grief in Publick, but with Tears, (which he was not accusom'd to shed at the Death of his Children) told his Queen, that this Creation would prove fatal to *Italy*, and a Scandal to Christendom : A Foresight worthy of the Prudence of *Ferdinando* !

A. D.
1492.

ALEXANDER

* He was carried Prisoner into *France*, and after his Return, according to *Giovio*, was poison'd.

A. D.

1492.

Alexander's Character.

ALEXANDER the Sixth, (for so he would be call'd) was endowed with wonderful Cunning, and extraordinary Sagacity; had a surprizing Genius in suggesting Expedients in the Cabinet, an uncommon Efficacy in perswading, and in all Matters of Consequence an incredible Earnestness and Dexterity. But these great Qualities were abundantly overballanced by his Vices: For he was lascivious, insincere, shameless and dissolute, without Probity, insatiably covetous, immoderately fond of Dominion, barbarously cruel, and ardently sollicitous, at any rate, to exalt his Children, who were numerous, and amongst them some (that he might not want Instruments to execute his villainous Designs) as bad as himself*.

Piero de Medici.

THE Death of *Lorenzo de Medici* occasioned a Change of no less Importance in *Florence*, than that of *Innocent* to the Church. *Piero*, the eldest of *Lorenzo's* three Sons succeeded, without Opposition,

* *Cesar*, *Francesco*, *Giuffre*, and *Lucretia*, were the Names of his Children.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 15

Opposition, to his Father's Greatness *: A. D.
1492.
 But neither his Age or Understanding any ways qualify'd him for so important a Charge ; nor was he capable of proceeding with that Moderation in his domestick and foreign Concerns, nor had he that Prudence to temporize with his Allies, for which his Father was so remarkable ; who by his Conduct whilst living, had improv'd both the Republic, and his own Condition, and dying, left every one convinced, that principally thro' his Means, the Peace of *Italy* had been preserv'd.

PIERO no sooner undertook the Administration of the Republic, than he swerv'd from his Father's Counsels ; and without consulting, as usual, the principal Citizens in Matters of Importance, suffer'd himself to be intirely directed by *Virginio Orsini*, his Relation ; *Piero's* Wife and Mother being both of the *Orsini* Family. At *Virginio's* Persuasion he contracted so great a Friendship with King *Ferdinando* and his Son *Alfonso*, as gave

* *Lorenzo's* three Sons were *Piero*, *Giovanni*, who was afterwards Pope *Leo* the 10th, and *Giuliano*.

A. D.
1492.

gave *Lodovico Sforza* great Cause to fear; that whenever the *Arragonians* * should think proper to break with him, they would also, thro' the Interest of *Piero*, have the Assistance of the *Florentines*. This Source and Origin of all the ensuing Evils, tho' in the Beginning kept secret, did nevertheless create Suspicions in the vigilant and penetrating Mind of *Lodovico*.

By antient Custom all Christian Princes were used to send Ambassadors to compliment the new Pontiff, and acknowledge him as Vicar of Christ. *Lodovico Sforza*, who was superior in Prudence and Contrivance to the rest, had proposed; that all the Ambassadors of the League should enter *Rome* the same Day, and present themselves in a Body to the Pope in Consistory, and one, in the Name of all, should make a formal Harangue: This, he suggested, would convince all *Italy*, there was so much Unity and Benevolence amongst them, that they would appear, as a Body under one Head, and
give

* The first of the then reigning Race of *Neapolitan* Kings, was King of *Arragon*, and from him his Descendants were call'd *Arragonians*.

give great Reputation to the League; and that such a Conduct was then necessary, not only Reason, but a fresh Example seem'd to demonstrate. For the late Pope, on a Coolness amongst the Allies, which he inferr'd from their Ministers, who came separately to his Court, had ventur'd to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*.

A. D.
1492.

FERDINANDO very readily approv'd of the Scheme, as also the *Florentines*; *Piero* not contradicting in Council, tho', in Reality, he much disliked it. He was deputed by the Republic for one of their Ambassadors, and had determin'd to make a magnificent and almost Royal Appearance, but perceiv'd, that by going in Company with the others, he should not be taken notice of in the manner he could wish: In which juvenile Vanity he was confirmed by *Gentile* Bishop of *Arezzo*, the other Ambassador elected, who, in regard to his Episcopal Dignity, and Reputation for Eloquence, was appointed to address the Pope, in the Name of the *Florentines*, and was very much vex'd, that, by this

A. D.

1492.

unusual and unexpected Method, he should be debarr'd from displaying his Talents, in so august and solemn an Assembly. *Piero*, incited partly by his own Vanity, and partly by the Bishop's Ambition, desired the King, (without mentioning his Name, as apt to create Jealousies) to oppose the Motion, and to insist, that, according to antient Custom, each Potentate should send separately their respective Ambassadors.

THE King was willing to gratify him; but, not chusing to take the Blame on himself, acquainted *Lodovico* with this Resolution, and at the same time let him know, he had entered into it at the Intreaty of *Piero*. *Lodovico* shew'd more Discontent at this sudden Change, than the Nature of such a Trifle seem'd to require; and complain'd very bitterly to the Pope, and all his Court, that they should so suddenly recede from what had already been settled: For as every one knew, he had been the Adviser, this Change must make him contemptible in the Eyes of the World. But he was much more dis-

pleas'd

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pleas'd to find, by this little and insignificant Accident, that *Piero* had private Intelligence with *Ferdinando*; of which he was much more convinced by what ensued.

FRANCESCETTO CIBO of Genoa, a natural Son of *Innocent* the 8th, was in Possession of the Castles of *Anguillara*, *Cervetri*, and some other Forts in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. After the Death of his Father, he went to live in *Florence*, under the Protection of *Piero de Medici*, whose Sister, *Maddalena*, he had married. He was no sooner arrived, than *Piero* perswaded him to sell those Castles to his Friend *Virginio Orsini* for Forty Thousand Crowns. *Ferdinando* was at the Bottom of this Affair, and secretly lent the best part of the Purchase-Money; not doubting, but it would turn to his Advantage to have *Virginio Orsini*, who was an Officer in his Army, and also his Relation, Master of such strong Places near *Rome*. For he ever consider'd the Pope's Power as a very likely Instrument to disturb the Quiet of his Kingdom,

A. D.
1492.

Virginio Orsini the first Cause of the Disturbances in Italy.

A. D. which was an antient Fief of the Roman

1492.

Church, and extends itself for a great Number of Miles along the Borders of the Ecclesiastical State. He remember'd the Troubles they had occasion'd both to his Father and himself; and being sensible of the Disputes too apt to arise on account of Limits, Tributes, Collation of Benefices, Appeals of his Barons, besides other Cavils common to all neighbouring Princes; especially between a Vassal and the Lord of the Fief: He always made it a principal Point to keep under his Power and Influence all, or at least the chief of the Roman Barons, and more so now, that he imagin'd *Lodovico Sforza* had too great an Ascendant over the Pope's Counsels, by means of his Brother, Cardinal *Ascanio*.

SOME thought he was apprehensive that the Ambition and Hatred of Pope *Calixtus* the 3d, who was *Alexander's* Uncle, might be hereditary. *Calixtus*, out of an immoderate Desire of aggrandizing his Nephew *Borgia*, intended, after the Decease of *Alfonso*, Father to this
Ferdinando,

Ferdinando, to have sent an Army to *A. D.* dispossess him of his Kingdom, which ^{1492.} he asserted was fallen to the Church: And he would have executed this Scheme, had he not been prevented by Death; ungratefully forgetting, that it was thro' *Alfonso* (in whose Kingdom of *Arragon* he was born) that he had been invested with so many Ecclesiastical Benefices, and chiefly thro' his Interest, had been created Pope.

CERTAIN it is, that great Men do not always discern and determine right; the Weakness of human Understanding will sometimes appear. *Ferdinando*, tho' reputed a Prince of great Prudence, did not sufficiently consider the Consequence of this Purchase, which could be to him of little Benefit, in Comparison of the great Mischiefs it might produce, by provoking those to enter on new Schemes, whose principal Business and Interest it was to preserve Peace and Tranquility.

THE Pope, enrag'd at this Encroachment on his Authority, immediately in-

A. D.

1492.

fisted, that the Alienation of these Castles without his Consent, was, according to the Ecclesiastical Law, a Forfeiture of them. Then, publishing to the World the Purposes for which they were bought, he fill'd all *Italy* with his Complaints against *Ferdinando*, *Piero*, and *Virginio*; protesting at the same time he would, to the utmost of his Power, avenge this Indignity offer'd to the Holy See.

L O D O V I C O S F O R Z A, who was ever jealous of *Ferdinando's* Actions, and had vainly persuaded himself, that *Alexander* might be directed by his and *Ascanio's* Counsels, consider'd the Diminution of the Pope's Grandeur as his own: But what gave him the most Uneasiness, was the convincing Proof he now had of the Friendship and strict Union between *Piero* and *Ferdinando*. To obviate the dangerous Consequences whereof, and to gain, at the same time, upon *Alexander*, he encouraged him to resent the Affair of the Castles, as an Injury done to his Person and Dignity; assuring him, that if his Vassals at the Beginning of

of his Pontificate, could venture on so glaring an Affront, they would not stop there. The Sale of the Castles was no more than a Trial of *Ferdinando*, to discover whether his Holiness was so destitute of Courage and Resolution as to bear small Injuries without Resentment. That the present King had no less Rancour against the Holy See than his Predecessors, who were ever Enemies to the Popes, had often carried their Armies against them, and more than once seiz'd on *Rome*. Had not the same *Ferdinando* twice sent his Son, at the Head of his Troops, to the Gates of that City? And in the present Alienation of the Castles, he not only pursued the Steps of his Predecessors in molesting the Ecclesiastical State, but also gratify'd his Ambition as well as Resentment for the Injuries he had receiv'd from his Uncle Pope *Calixtus*. He beg'd of him to give serious Attention to what he said, and not to put up with so gross an Affront, unless he could sit down content with his pompous Titles and external Marks of Veneration; for by tamely submitting, he would incur the

A. D.
1492.

A. D.

1492.

universal Scorn of Mankind, and give Encouragement to farther Encroachments, and more dangerous Plots: Whereas, if he exerted himself on this Occasion, he would establish his Reputation, and preserve the Majesty, Grandeur, and Veneration due to the Roman Pontiff. To Persuasions he added what was still more efficacious; for he lent him Forty Thousand Ducats, and provided Three Hundred Men in Armour, to be maintained between them, but to be disposed of as his Holiness should think proper. Yet to avoid the Necessity of coming to an open Rupture, he press'd *Ferdinando* to find out some Means of appeasing the Pope, in relation to the Castles, hinting at the fatal Consequences, which otherwise might ensue.

BUT with more Freedom he admonish'd *Piero de Medici*, reminding him how often *Lorenzo* his Father, equally a Friend to himself and *Ferdinando*, had impartially compos'd their Disputes; whereby he greatly contributed to the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquillity
of

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of *Italy*. He therefore intreated him to *A. D.*
 imitate his illustrious Parent, rather than, *1492.*
 by entering into new Schemes, give occasion to, nay urge some Potentate to pursue Measures prejudicial to the general Good. He laid before him the Injuries his Father and the Republic of *Florence* had sustained from the *Arragonians*; and how often *Ferdinando*, and *Alfonso* before him, had both by Fraud and Arms attempted to make themselves Masters of *Tuscany*.

THESE Remonstrances produced more Harm than Good. For *Ferdinando's* Jealousy could not brook that *Lodovico* and *Ascanio*, whom he knew to be the Pope's Advisers, should obtain their Ends; and therefore secretly persuaded *Virginio* to take Possession of the Castles, by Virtue of his Contract, promising to support him against any Opposition. But with his usual Artifice, he propos'd to the Pope several Plans for an Accommodation; and at the same time counsel'd *Virginio* to agree on no other Terms than that of keeping Possession of the Castles, tho' he were a
 second

A. D. 1492. second time to pay to his Holiness the Value of them. So *Virginio* boldly refused those Conditions which *Ferdinando* himself seemingly press'd him to accept of, in order to appease the Pope's Anger.

Lodovico, finding all his Endeavours to detach *Piero* from *Ferdinando's* Interest frustrated, and that thro' his Obstinacy he was likely to be depriv'd of the Friendship of the Republic of *Florence*, which had ever been his chief Dependance, alarm'd at the imminent Danger, thought it high time to consult his Safety.

HE was satisfy'd the *Arragonians* wanted to remove him from the Government; for altho' *Ferdinando*, Master in the Art of Dissembling, remain'd silent, *Alfonso* openly exclaim'd at the Oppression of his Son-in-Law; and utter'd, with more Passion than Prudence, several injurious Words with Menaces. He was also inform'd how *Isabella*, the Wife of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, was ever solliciting her Father and Grandfather, that, if they would not revenge
the

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the Injury done to themselves, they would at least defend her and her Husband's Lives, which were in great Danger from the Usurper. *

A. D.
1492.

BUT what most affected *Lodovico*, was the Temper of his People, who were not only exasperated at the unusual Taxes he had rais'd, but detested him for his Treatment of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, whom they were passionately fond of. Amongst the many Artifices he made use of to gain their Affections, he endeavour'd to persuade them, that he would protect the State from the *Arragonians*, who were ready to invade it ; pretending a Claim to the Dutchy of *Milan*, from a Will of *Philippo Maria Visconti*, wherein he bequeath'd it to *Ferdinando's* Father. But nothing he said could alter their way of thinking ; which was, that all his Actions tended to remove his Nephew, and settle himself in the Dukedom of *Milan* : And that no sort of Wickedness would deter him

* In *Giovio*, and *Corio*, a Letter to this Purpose from *Isabella* to her Father and Grandfather is to be seen at length.

A. D. him from attempting to compass his am-
 1492. bitious Design.

AFTER he had for some Time resolv'd in his Mind the present State of Affairs, and the dangerous Situation he was in, he determin'd on making new Alliances, which he thought might be easily effected: For he knew the Pope was enrag'd at *Ferdinando*, and that the *Venetians* were dissatisfy'd at the Confederacy, which had baffled all their Designs; he therefore apply'd to both to enter into a League with him.

BUT Revenge, and every other Passion in *Alexander's* Breast, gave way to the immoderate Ambition of seeing his Children exalted. Other Popes, to conceal their Infamy, were wont to term them Nephews; but he took Delight in letting all the World know they were his Children. As at present no readier way offer'd to gratify his high Views for their Preferment, he sollicitated *Ferdinando* to give his natural Daughter in Marriage to one of his Sons, and for her Portion some rich Territory

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tory in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Till A. D.
1492.
Alexander was excluded from all Hopes of
succeeding in this Match, he gave rather
his Ear than his Heart to *Lodovico's* Offers.
But had they been accepted of at that
Time, the Peace of *Italy* would not,
perhaps, have been so soon disturbed.
Ferdinando was not averse to the Match;
but *Alfonso*, abhorring the Pope's Pride
and Ambition, would never give his
Consent: The King, therefore, without
shewing any dislike to the Alliance, rais'd
Difficulties concerning the Dowry; at
which the Pope was so much provok'd,
that he resolv'd at once to engage with
Lodovico and the *Venetians*; being incited
thereto by Ambition, Rage, and also Fear.
For *Virginio* was very powerful in the
Ecclesiastical State, on account of the
Protection of the King of *Naples*, and
the *Florentines*, and for his many Followers
among the *Guelph* Party: Besides, *Prospero*
and *Fabritio Colonna*, Heads of that noble
Family, were Officers in *Ferdinando's*
Army; and the Cardinal of St. *Piero* in
Vincola, a Person of great Authority,
suspecting the Pope had a Design against
his

A. D. his Life, was retired to *Ostia*, of which
 1492. Place he was Bishop, and had declared
 for *Ferdinando*, tho' formerly his professed
 Enemy ; and had instigated, first his Uncle
 Pope *Sixtus*, and then *Innocent* against
 him. *

THE *Venetians*, tho' pleased at these
 Misunderstandings, were not yet so for-
 ward as was expected, on account of their
 distrust of *Alexander's* Sincerity, which
 became every Day more and more Suspi-
 cious. They also consider'd they had been
 often betray'd by the Popes, *Sixtus* and
Innocent, his immediate Predecessors.
 From the last they had suffer'd many
 Inconveniences, without reaping any
 Benefit ; and *Sixtus*, in the greatest Heat
 of the War against the Duke of *Ferrara*,
 which he himself had press'd them to
 undertake, changing his Mind, employ'd
 not only his spiritual, but also his temporal
 Arms, in Conjunction with the rest of
 the *Italians*, against them. Yet the In-
 treaties of *Lodovico*, who had been inde-
 fatigable in treating with the particular
 Members,

* This Cardinal was afterwards Pope *Julius* the 2d.

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Members, prevailed at length on the *A. D.* Senate; and in *April* 1493, a new Con- ^{1493.}
federacy was formed between the Pope, A League
the *Venetians*, and *Giovanni Galeazzo*, between
Duke of *Milan* (whose Name was made the Pope,
use of in all Public Transactions) for the *Lodovico*,
common Safety, and particularly for the and the
Support of *Lodovico* in the Government. *Venetians*;
It was stipulated that the *Venetians*, and
the Duke of *Milan*, should each of them
send immediately Two Thousand Men in
Armour, and more if requir'd, to protect
the Ecclesiastic State, and dispossess *Vir-*
ginio of the Castles. *

THESE Proceedings greatly alarm'd
all *Italy*, especially as the Duke of *Milan*
had abandon'd a League, which for
Twelve Years had been the Pledge of
its Security. For in that Confederacy it
had been expressly stipulated, that no one
of the Confederates should enter into any
new Alliance without the Approbation of
all the contracting Parties; wherefore that
Union being now dissolv'd, in which con-
fisted

* The Armies in those Days consisted of three different
Corps; Men in Armour on Horseback, Light Horse, and
Infantry.

A. D. sifted the Safety of the Whole, and the
 1493. Minds of Princes full of Suspicions and
 Resentment, who could not but foresee,
 that, to the universal Detriment, Fruits
 must grow up conformable to these Seeds ?


As soon as *Alfonso* Duke of *Calabria*,
 and *Piero de Medici* were apprised of this
 Alliance, they judg'd it the best way to
 be before-hand, and therefore willingly
 hearken'd to *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*;
 who, at the secret Instigation of the Bishop
 of *Ostia*, offer'd to seize on *Rome* by Sur-
 prize, with the Help of the *Ghibelline*
 Faction, and their own Men, provided
 the *Orsini* would assist them, and the Duke
 of *Calabria* could be, at the same Time,
 within three Days March of that City.

BUT *Ferdinando*, now become more
 willing to pacify the Pope, by correcting
 his former precipitate Measures, than to
 provoke his farther Rage, would by no
 Means agree to a Scheme that must pro-
 duce greater Evils ; and resolv'd, in good
 Earnest, to try how to compromise the
 Affair of the Castles ; being persuaded,
 that

that when this Obstacle was remov'd, ^{A. D.} Matters would easily return into the same ^{1493.} peaceable Channel. But by removing the Causes, the Effects that sprung from them are not always remov'd. For, as it frequently happens, that Resolutions taken out of Fear seldom appear sufficient to the Fearful; thus *Lodovico* imagin'd he had not apply'd Remedy enough to his Danger, and began to reflect, that the Pope's Interest, and that of the *Venetians*, were different from his; that he could not rely on them for any length of Time, and might therefore be brought into great Streights. The Fear of this induced him to attempt a Cure of the present Malady, at all Events, without considering how dangerous it is to give a stronger Dose than the Nature of the Disease, or the Constitution of the Patient will admit: And, as if plunging into greater Difficulties could only free him from the first, since he could not rely on the *Italians*, he resolv'd on inviting *Charles* the Eighth, King of *France*, that with their united Forces they might invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which the House of *Anjou* had a fair Claim.

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 THE Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Pope's Bulls improperly call'd *Sicily* on this side the *Faro*, is a most antient Fief of the Church. It was unjustly seiz'd by *Manfredi*, a natural Son of the Emperor *Frederick* the Second, and was by *Urban* the Fourth, with *Sicily*, given in Fief, under the Name of the *Two Sicilies* (one on this side, the other on the other side the *Faro*) in the Year 1264, to *Charles* Count of *Provence* and *Anjou*, Brother to that *Lewis* King of *France*, who, famous for his Exploits, but more so for his Piety, deserved to be enroll'd amongst the Saints.

THIS *Charles*, by Force of Arms, got Possession of what had been given him by the Church, and left it to his Son *Charles* the Second. To him succeeded *Roberto*, and to him *Giovanna*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, who died before his Father. *Giovanna*, for her Weakness, and dissolute Course of Life, was very much despised; and the Descendants of *Charles* the Second (who left

left several Children) endeavour'd to de-
 throne her. The Queen, to procure
 Assistance, adopted for her Son *Lewis*
 Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to that King
Charles, whom the *French* thought pro-
 per to distinguish by the Name of *Sage*,
 for gaining many Battles without running
 much Risque.

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THIS *Lewis* march'd into *Italy* with
 a powerful Army, where he found *Gio-*
vanna taken off by a violent Death, and
Charles, called *Durazzo*, a Descendant of
 the first *Charles*, placed on the Throne.
Lewis was very successful, but in the
 midst of his Victories died of a Fever in
Puglia : So the Family of *Anjou* (by the
 aforesaid Adoption) got only *Provence*,
 which till then had been possessed by the
 Kings of *Naples*, Descendants of the first
Charles.

FROM this Adoption arose the Claim
 of the Dukes of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of
Naples. And the Popes, whenever they
 had any Quarrel with the *Neapolitan* Kings,
 invited the *Anjouins* to invade their Domi-

A. D. nions ; which was often done, but without
 { 1493. } Success.

To *Charles Durazzo* succeeded his Son *Ladislao*, who dying without Issue in 1414, the Crown came to his Sister *Giovanna*, a Name inauspicious to her Subjects : For she, likewise, giving herself up to Lasciviousness, put the Reins of Government into the Hands of those she intrusted with her Person. This Deportment gave Pope *Martin* the Fifth an Opportunity of sending for *Lewis* the Third, Count of *Provence*, to invade her Dominions : But she extricated herself at that Time from all Difficulties, by adopting *Alfonso* King of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, with whom, nevertheless, she afterwards quarrell'd, and cancell'd her Deed upon the Pretext of his Ingratitude. And then calling to her Aid, and adopting the same *Lewis*, who would have dethron'd her, she got the better of *Alfonso*, expell'd him her Kingdom, and reigned peaceably the Remainder of her Days. Dying without Issue, she left her Dominions (as was reported) to *Renato*, Duke of *Anjou*,
 Brother

Brother of the adopted *Lewis*, who died A. D.
1493 before her. But many of the Barons giving out, that this Will was forg'd by a particular Faction, call'd in *Alfonso* of *Arragon*. Others, more inclin'd to the *French*, kept up the *Anjouin* Party, which still subsisted. This produced the bloody Wars between *Renato* and *Alfonso*, that for so many Years tore to Pieces so noble a Kingdom, which alone, in a Manner, supported all the Expences. The Popes mostly contributed to these Disasters, for the Claims of both Parties varied according to their Investitures; in renewing of which they were more influenced by their own Ambition, and the Necessities of the Times, than by Justice.

ALFONSO fought several Battles with *Renato*, and being more powerful, came off always victorious. Dying without legitimate Issue, he left the Kingdom of *Naples*, as an Acquisition of his own, to this *Ferdinando*, his natural Son, and his Brother *Giovanni* succeeded him in the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Sicily*. *Giovanni Renato's* Son, with the Assistance of

A. D. 1493. several of the Barons, gave *Ferdinando* a great deal of Trouble at the Beginning of his Reign : But at last he defeated them, and had nothing more to fear during *Renato's* Life. *Renato* died without Issue Male, but by Will made *Charles*, his Brother's Son, his Heir ; who likewise having no Issue, bequeath'd all his Dominions to *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*. And tho' *Oreno*, Son of a Daughter of *Renato*, laid Claim to his Grandfather's Patrimony, *Lewis* took immediate Possession of *Provence* ; As for his Right to *Anjou* it was not disputed, being a Fief of *France*, not inheritable by Females. The Pretensions of the *Anjouins* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by this Will, devolv'd to *Lewis*, whose Son, *Charles* the Eighth, proved a very powerful Adversary to *Ferdinando*.

The present State of the Kingdom of *France*.

THE Kingdom of *France* had never been in a more flourishing Condition since the time of *Charles* the Great, for the Number of its Inhabitants, the Glory and Power of its Arms, its Riches and Authority, being extended thro' all the three Parts,

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Parts, into which the Antients divided *A. D.*
Gaul. * 1493.

FORTY Years before, *Charles* the Seventh, after many and dangerous Battles, had added to his Sovereignty *Normandy* and *Guienne*, which had been possessed by the *English*: *Lewis* the Eleventh, in his latter Years, was in Possession of *Provence*, *Burgundy*, and the best part of *Picardy*; and *Charles* the Eight, by Marriage, became Master of *Britany*.

CHARLES wanted only an Opportunity to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*; his Courtiers having taken a great deal of Pains from his tender Years, to instill into him an Opinion of his Right to that Crown. They also flattered his Vanity, by insinuating, that this Acquisition would enable him to conquer the *Turkish* Empire. *Charles's* Designs being known, *Lodovico Sforza* thought it an easy Matter to persuade him to what he was already inclined. *Sforza* was not unknown at the


D 4

Court

* This antient Division of *Gaul* is to be seen in the beginning of *Cæsar's* Com. in *Pliny*, lib. 4. *Strabo* lib. 4.

A. D.

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 Court of *France*, for both he, and his Brother *Galeazzo*, had always cultivated a Friendship, begun in *Francesco* their Father's Time, who Thirty Years before had received from *Lewis* the Eleventh the City of *Savona* in Fief, together with all his Pretensions on *Genoa*; for *Lewis* was ever averse to an *Italian* Expedition.

LODOVICO, to render his Sollicitations of greater Weight, and thinking it too dangerous to be singular in kindling so great a Combustion, apply'd to the Pope with Arguments proper to gratify both his Ambition and Resentment. He endeavour'd to convince him, that neither the Friendship, nor Arms of any of the *Italian* Powers, would enable him to revenge himself on *Ferdinando*, or procure Preferments for his Children; and that he had no other Way left of compassing these Ends, than by applying, in Concert with him, to the *French* Court.

ALEXANDER embraced the Scheme, from a natural Love of Novelty, or to frighten the *Arragonians* into what he could

THE WARS IN ITALY. 41

could not obtain by fair Means; and very ^{A. D. 1493.} secretly dispatch'd Agents to sound the Inclinations of the *French*: Whilst *Lodovico* sent thither publickly, tho' under another Pretence, *Charles Barbiano*, Count of *Belgiiuso*, who, after many private Conferences with the King and his Ministers, was introduced into the Council, where in the Presence of a great many Prelates, Nobles, and Peers of the Realm, he address'd the King in the following Manner. *

Most Christian King!

LODOVICO SFORZA makes a Tender to your Majesty of his Treasure and Forces, to assist You in the Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Naples*. And if any one should, for particular Reasons, suspect his Faith and Sincerity in this Proposal; I am persuaded that Person will renounce his ill grounded Suspicion, and intirely change his Opinion, when he comes to reflect, with the least Attention, on the Obligations which *Lodovico* himself, his Brother *Galeazzo*, and their Father *Fran-*
cesco,

* This Speech much resembles a Letter writ in *Latin* by *Lodovico Sforza* to the King: Which Letter is to be seen in *Corio*.

A. D. 1493. *cesco*, first lay under to *Lewis* the Eleventh your Father, and afterwards to your Majesty. And much greater Cause will such a Person have for his Change of Sentiments, if he considers, that from this Enterprize many Disadvantages may arise, and but little Hopes of any Profit can possibly result to *Lodovico*: Whilst the Fruits of Victory to your Majesty will be Glory, the additional Dominion of a fine Kingdom, and an auspicious Opportunity for the unbounded Extent of your Fame and Empire. A just Revenge for the Plots and Injuries suffered from the *Arragonians* is all that *Lodovico* can propose to himself. If, on the other Hand, this Attempt, (however promising) should not succeed, your Majesty's Glory would nevertheless remain unfully'd.

BUT, in such a Case, every one knows that *Lodovico*, hated by many, and despis'd by all, for such a Miscarriage, could find no Remedy to the Dangers which must ensue, What sinister Views can then a Prince be suspected of, where his Circumstances are so unequal? The Motives that

that induce you to so glorious an Expedition, are so evident of themselves, that they admit of no Doubt. Every Argument necessary for such a Resolution here coincides; the Justice of your Cause, the Facility of Conquest, and the Fruits of the Victory.


A. D.

1493

EVERY one is apprised of the undoubted Title the House of *Anjou* has to the Kingdom of *Naples*; that you are the legitimate Heir. And how justly is the Succession claimed by the Descendants of that *Charles*, who first obtained this Kingdom by Authority of the *Roman Pontiff*, and then by the Force and Valour of his Arms? But the Facility in acquiring this Possession, is not less than the Justice of the Title. Who knows not, how inferior in Strength and Power the King's of *Naples* are, to the first and most powerful King in Christendom? How great and formidable is the *French* Name all over the World? And what a Terror your Arms are to all Nations? The petty Dukes of *Anjou* never attack'd that Kingdom, without putting the People in great Consternation?

A. D.

1493


 sternation. 'Tis fresh in every one's Memory, how *Giovanni*, son of *Renato*, would have had a sure Victory against this *Ferdinando*, if Pope *Pius* had not interpos'd, and prevented it; in Conjunction with *Francesco Sforza*, who (as every one knows) at that Time acted by the Direction of your Royal Father. What then may not be perform'd by the Arms and Authority of so mighty a King, who has so many Advantages beyond *Renato* and *Giovanni*? Those Princes, who then obstructed the Victory, are now your Allies, and will much contribute to the successful Execution of this Project; namely, the Pope, whose Territories border on the Kingdom of *Naples* by Land, and the Duke of *Milan*, through his Power in *Genoa* by Sea. Neither will you have any Opposition from the rest of the *Italians*: For the *Venetians* will not expose themselves to Dangers and Expences against the *French*, their antient Friends, to favour *Ferdinando*, whose Name they abhor. Nor is it credible that the *Florentines* will depart from their natural Attachment to your Family: And
 were

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were they inclined to it, of what Con-
sequence would that be? How often has
your warlike Nation, in Spite of all *Italy*,
passed the *Alps*, and return'd trium-
phant? When was the Kingdom of
France so glorious, so happy, so power-
ful, and in such a State of Peace and
Tranquillity, as at present? Had the
Times been thus propitious in your Fa-
ther's Days, he would, without Doubt,
have undertaken this Expedition.

N O R will the Difficulties which your
Enemies have to struggle with, be less
considerable than the many and great Ad-
vantages that appear in your Favour. The
Anjouin Party is very numerous: Great
Dependance is to be laid on the many
Princes and Nobles unjustly banished of
late Years; not to mention the cruel
Usage of *Ferdinando* to his Barons and
People, even to those of his own *Arra-
gonian* Party. His Insincerity is so great,
so immoderate his Avarice, his, and his
Son's Examples of Barbarity, so shocking,
that 'tis evident, the People, out of Hatred
to them, and Affection to the *French*,
whose

A. D. whose liberal, mild, and humane Government is still fresh in their Memory, will make a general Infurrection on the first Notice of your Arrival.

The Resolution itself is sufficient to make you victorious, and no sooner shall your Troops have passed the *Alps*, and the Fleet be got together in the Port of *Genoa*, but *Ferdinando* and his Children, terrify'd at their own Wickedness, will think more of the Means to escape, than of those to defend themselves.

IN this easy Manner you will recover to your Family a Kingdom; tho' not to be compar'd to *France*, yet a Kingdom extensive and rich, highly valuable, and to be desir'd for the many Advantages *France* will reap from it. Those I could enumerate, but that I am sensible more worthy and more exalted Thoughts will move so great a King to act, not altogether for his own Interest, but for the Good of the whole Christian World. Every one knows, that in some Places the Sea is but
seventy

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seventy Miles wide, between the *Neapolitan* and *Grecian* Coast; the latter, a Country oppressed and torn to Pieces by the *Turks*, and of nothing more desirous than to see the Christian Banners display'd. How easy will it then be to penetrate into the very Bowels of the *Turkish* Empire? And to take even *Constantinople*, the Seat and Head of that Monarchy? And to whom does it belong, most powerful King, so properly as to yourself, to cherish such Ideas? To you God has given the greatest Power: You have the Name of Most Christian: And the Examples of your glorious Predecessors, who have often marched Armies out of this Kingdom, sometimes to protect the Church of God, distress'd by Tyrants; sometimes to destroy the Infidels, and to recover the most sacred Sepulchre of *Christ*, and thereby have render'd the Name and Majesty of the Kings of *France* for ever illustrious. Inspired with these Notions, and by such heroic Actions, *Charles*, your Predecessor, acquired the Name of Great, and became Emperor of *Rome*: You bear the Name of that glorious *Charles*, and, by treading in his Steps,

you

A. D.
1493.

A. D. you have now an Opportunity of acquiring
 1493. the same Renown and Title.

BUT why do I lose Time with these Arguments? As if it were not more convenient, and more according to the Order of Nature, to assert one's own Right, than to make new Acquisitions? How must it stain your Character, with all these Advantages, to suffer any longer *Ferdinando* to enjoy a Kingdom, possessed by your Ancestors in a constant Succession of near Two Hundred Years? Reflect, how divine a Thing it will be to free those People, that are your natural Subjects, from the oppressive Tyranny of the *Catalans*. This Undertaking then is just, easy, necessary; and no less glorious and sacred; especially, as it paves a Way to a Project, worthy of a Most Christian King, to which you are call'd, not by Men, but by God: And that in so conspicuous a Manner, as to assure you of Victory before the Attempt: A Victory which will not only crown your Majesty with Glory and Empire, but will be attended with a Train of such Consequences, as will render it beneficial to
 the

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the Universe, and extend the Boundaries of the Christian Republic.

A. D.

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THIS Harangue was not relish'd by those of the greatest Repute for Experience and Sagacity in the Council. They were of Opinion, that marching Armies so far from home against a powerful Adversary was very hazardous. *Ferdinando* and his Son were in great Esteem for Knowledge of Military Affairs : And as the former had oppress'd, in the Course of Thirty Years Reign, a great Number of Barons, it was thought he had accumulated immense Treasures. They consider'd that the King was not capable himself of conducting so important an Enterprize, and that many of his Council were unexperienced in the Management of Affairs, both civil and military. To this they added the want of Money, large Sums whereof would be necessary to carry so great a Project into Execution; and the disingenuous Artifices of the *Italians* to allure the King : For nobody could believe that any of them, especially *Lodovico*,

Objections
to an *Italian*
Expedition.

E

would

A. D. would be satisfy'd to see the Kingdom of
 1493. *Naples* in the Power of *France*. There-
 fore they judg'd it difficult to make that
 Conquest, and much more so to pre-
 serve it. They consider'd how the
 King's Father, a Prince, who always re-
 gulated his Conduct by the Reality, not
 by the Appearance of Things, never re-
 garded this Claim; but constantly asserted,
 that to send Armies beyond the *Alps*, was
 only purchasing Troubles and Perils at
 the Cost of immense Treasure and *French*
 Blood. That it was first necessary to
 adjust Differences with neighbouring
 Princes; for besides sundry Occasions for
 Quarrels and Jealousies that subsisted with
Ferdinando, King of *Spain*, many Inju-
 ries between *France*, and *Maximilian*
 King of the *Romans*, and *Philip* his Son,
 the Arch-duke of *Austria*, requir'd Re-
 paration; and could not be compromis'd
 without yielding to something detrimental
 to the Crown of *France*; and their Emu-
 lation was such, that even then they
 would not heartily be reconcil'd. Nor
 was there any Reason to trust *Henry* the
 Seventh: Therefore, what Security could
 they

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they have, that when their Armies were at such a Distance, *France* itself would not be invaded? For the *English* would then sooner consult their natural Hatred to the *French*, than the Articles of the late Peace; especially as it was plain *Henry* came into it, only because the King of the *Romans* had not comply'd with those Engagements that encourag'd him to lay siege to *Boulogne*.

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THESE, and such like Objections, *James Graville* and others were rais'd amongst the Great Men, and laid before the King to dissuade him from an *Italian* War; and particularly *James Graville*, Admiral of *France*; (who, tho' less regarded than formerly at Court, yet preserv'd his Authority with the People) vigorously opposed this Undertaking.

BUT *Charles*, who was but Twenty-two Years old, and quite unexperienced in State Affairs, being inflam'd with a Thirst of Conquest and Glory, founded rather on Levity and sudden Impulse, than Maturity of Counsel, would not hearken to the wholesome Advice of his prudent

A. D. Ministers. By his own Inclination, and, ^{1493.} perhaps, by his Father's Example and Precepts, he did not like to be directed by the Great Men of the Kingdom: And, therefore, as soon as he came out of the Tuition of his Sister *Anne*, the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, he changed her able Miniſtry, of which the Admiral was at the Head, to make way for his Intimates, who were Men of low Birth, and narrow Capacities; moſt of whom were gain'd by *Lodovico's* Miniſter, who was affiduous in corrupting them; ſome with coſtly Preſents; ſome with Hopes of great Eſtates in the new-conquer'd Country; and others with Expectations of Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. All theſe unanimouſly encourag'd their Prince to follow his Inclinations.

HE advanced to the Poſt of Prime-Miniſter, *Stephen Vers*, a Man of mean Extraction in *Languedoc*, who had attended him in his Infancy, and whom he had before made Senefchal of *Beaucaire*: Next to him in Eſteem was *William Briſſonette*, from a Merchant made General in Chief,

Stephen Vers, and the Biſhop of *St. Malo*, chief Counſellors.

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Chief, and afterwards Bishop of St. *Maló*. A. D. 1493.
 He, in Conjunction with *Vers*, manag'd all the Finances, and was consulted in Affairs of the greatest Importance, though very little versed in Matters of State.

ANTONELLO of St. *Severino*, Prince of *Salerno*, and *Bernardino*, of the same Family, Prince of *Bisignano*; with several other outlaw'd Barons of the Kingdom of *Naples*, had been a long Time in *France*, soliciting, and endeavouring to facilitate this Conquest, by laying before the Ministry the bad State of the Kingdom, the Disaffection of the People, and the Dependence they might have on the *Anjouin* Party.

SOME Days pass'd before the final Resolution was taken. Not only the Ministry, but *Charles* seem'd a little undetermined: He was desirous of Empire, but often fearful and irresolute. After some Struggle, however, his Inclination, and the unhappy Fate of *Italy* prevailed: When deaf to all pacific Counsels, and unknown to any one, except *Beaucaire*, and the Bishop of St. *Maló*, he signed a Convention

A Treaty between Lodovico & Charles the VIII.

D 3

A. D. tion with *Lodovico's* Ambaffador, but

1493.

the Conditions were kept very fecret for feveral Months: The chief Articles were thefe, That whenever the King fhould think proper, either to conduct in Perfon, or fend an Army into *Italy*, *Lodovico* fhould give him a Paſſage through his Dominions, and fupply him with Five Hundred Men at Arms, at his own Expence: * That he fhould give him Liberty to equip what Veſſels he pleaſed in the Port of *Genoa*, and alfo lend him Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats before he left *France*. On the other Hand, the King engag'd to protect *Lodovico* in the Government of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to keep for that Purpoſe Two Hundred Lances † in *Aſti*, a City belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, as long as the War ſhould laſt. And by a ſeparate Article, ſign'd by the King's own Hand, he was to confer upon him the Principality of *Taranto*, as ſoon as he ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

IT

* By Men at Arms is meant Men in heavy Armour, the firſt of the three Corps mentioned Page 31.

† The *French* Lances were of the ſame kind, as the *Italian* Men at Arms.

IT will not be improper to consider here the Variety of Times, and the different Policies of Princes relating to the same Affair. *Francesco Sforza*, Father of *Lodovico*, a Prince of consummate Prudence and great Courage, had a particular Friendship for the House of *Anjou*, and at the same Time was an Enemy to the *Arragonians*, for the many Injuries he had received from *Alfonso*, this *Ferdinando's* Father: However, when *Giovanni*, Son of *Renato*, in the Year Fourteen Hundred and Fifty Seven, attacked the Kingdom of *Naples*, he assisted *Ferdinando* with so much Expedition, that the Victory was chiefly attributed to his Conduct. The chief Reason which induced him to act in this Manner, was the Danger he thought the *Milanese* would be subject to, if a *French* Prince, whose Dominions were so near his own, should get Possession of *Naples*.

THE same Motive had prevailed not long before on *Filippo Maria Visconti*, to abandon the *Anjouins* his Favourites, and

A. D. 1492. set at Liberty *Alfonso* his Enemy; who being taken at *Gaeta* by the *Genoese* in a Sea-Fight, had been brought, with great Part of his Nobility, Prisoner to *Milan*. On the other Hand, *Lewis*, the Father of *Charles*, tho' often invited, and with plausible Reasons, to assert his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and continually solli-cited by the *Genoese* to come and receive them for his Vassals, as his Father *Charles* the Seventh had done before, yet had constantly refused to meddle with the Affairs of *Italy*, as a Scheme which would be attended with great Expence, many Difficulties, and prove pernicious to the Kingdom of *France*. *

Now Men's Opinions vary, though, perhaps, the same Reasons, without any Variation, subsist. *Lodovico* invites the *French* to pass the Mountains, without dreading from a powerful King of *France*, in Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*,
that

* *Paulo Emilio* writes, that when *Roberto* of *San Severino* solli-cited *Lewis XI.* to come into *Italy*, *Lewis* replied, he had observed that none of his Predecessors had ever been able to preserve the Conquests they had made in that Country.

that Danger which his valiant Father apprehended from a little Count of *Provence*: And *Charles* is eager in carrying a War into *Italy*, preferring the Rashness of vulgar, unexperienced Ministers, to the Example of his Father, a prudent and sagacious King.

A. D.

1493.

CERTAIN it is, that *Lodovico* was encouraged to invite the *French* by his Father-in-Law, *Hercole d'Este*, Duke of *Ferrara*, who was ardently desirous to recover the *Polissene* of *Rovigo*, a Territory contiguous to, and very important for the Safety of *Ferrara*. The *Polissene* had been taken from him in a War with the *Venetians* Ten Years before, and he was persuaded he could no otherwise compass his Design, than by setting all *Italy* at Variance.

The Duke of *Ferrara* counsels *Lodovico* to invite the *French*.

IT was thought by many, that although *Hercole* profess'd a great Friendship for his Son-in-Law, he yet ow'd him a violent Grudge: For in that War, though all the rest of *Italy* had declar'd in his Favour against the *Venetians*, *Sforza*,
who

A. D. 1493. who then governed the *Milaneſe* for his own Ends, oblig'd the other Potentates, who were ſuperior in Strength, to make a Peace, and in the Articles gave the *Pollifene* to the *Venetians*; and therefore as *Hercole* could not avenge himſelf with Arms, he determin'd to do it with pernicious Counſels, when *Lodovico* conſulted him.

Senti-
ments of
the *Itali-
ans* con-
cerning
the *French*
Expediti-
on.

As ſoon as the News of this Treaty, though from uncertain Authority, was ſpread over *Italy*, the Minds of Men were variously affected: Thoſe thought it of the utmoſt Conſequence, who conſider'd the Power of *France*, the warlike Inclination of the People, and the Diviſions among the *Italians*. Others, reflecting on the King's Youth, his narrow Capacity, the natural Indolence of the *French*, and the Difficulties of this Undertaking, were of Opinion, it would prove abortive, as founded rather on Raſhneſs and Levity, than on Maturity of Counſel.

FERDINANDO, againſt whom this mighty Enterprize was levell'd, ſeem'd

no ways alarm'd: He gave out, that if the *French* intended to attack him by Sea, they would find his Fleet no ways inferior to theirs; his Ports well fortify'd, and in his immediate Possession: So that none of his Barons were in a Condition to favour the Landing of an Enemy, as *Rossano* and others had done, at the Invasion of *Giovanni d'Anjou*. As for the Land Expedition, it would prove laborious, create Jealousies, and was at too great a Distance: For an Army must march through all *Italy*, before it could arrive at his Dominions; and therefore every Prince, but especially *Lodovico*, ought to be alarm'd; whose Territories lying nearer *France*, might tempt the King to attack them. And as the Duke of *Milan* was so nearly related to the King, how could *Lodovico* promise himself, that his Majesty would not deliver him from his cruel Oppression; particularly, as it was known, that *Charles* long since had declared he would not suffer his Cousin *Giovanni Galeazzo* to be so grossly abused. Again, his own Kingdom was populous; he had a numerous Army; plenty of Money and Means

A. D. Means of procuring what more might be

1493.

requir'd; Abundance of stout Horses, Ammunition, Artillery, and all warlike Stores; many Officers of experienced Courage; and a Son, whose Fame was well established for his Valour and Conduct in all the late Commotions of *Italy*.* Besides, he did not doubt of the Assistance of the King of *Spain*, who was doubly related to him, as being his Cousin, and Brother to his Wife: And he was very certain, that King would never suffer the *French* to establish themselves in the Neighbourhood of *Sicily*.

Ferdinando
do alarm'd
at the
League.

WITH these, and many more Reasons, he thought proper to amuse the Public, and intimidate *Lodovico*; magnifying his own, and diminishing his Enemy's Forces. But, as he was a Prince of singular Prudence and Experience, he was inwardly very much affected: He well remember'd the Troubles the *French* had given him in the Beginning of his Reign; and seriously

* *Collemucio*, in his 4th Book, endeavours to prove, that Nature has endowed the Kingdom of *Naples*, with such valuable Gifts, as to have tempted all foreign Potentates, in their Turn, to invade it.

seriously consider'd, he had to do with A. D.
1493.
a powerful and warlike Nation, and much superior to his, in Cavalry, Infantry, Fleets, Artillery, and Treasure: A People, who, for their King's Glory, were ever willing to encounter Danger. On the contrary, his Subjects hated the Name of the *Arragonians*; were inclin'd to rebel; naturally inconstant, and fond of Changes; readier to follow the Fortune of an Invader, than adhere to their Allegiance: * That his Troops were not in the good Condition he had boasted, nor the Money accumulated sufficient for his Defence; and the Tumults, when the War was once commenced, would disable him from raising any further Supplies: He had Enemies in all Parts of *Italy*; there being not a single State that had not felt the Weight of his Arms, or been cajol'd by his Artifices: That the *Spaniards* were apt to make fair Promises; but, according to Experience, were little to be depended on; and his present Dangers were not to be remov'd by the Rumours
of

* *Livy*, Lib. 1. Dec. 4. The *Neapolitans* abstain from Rebellion, only when they are at a Loss to find a Power that will accept of their Allegiance.

A. D. of their great Preparations, which in the
 1493. End he knew would be slender and ineffectual.

HIS Fears were encreased by several Predictions, prognosticating Calamities to his Family, which came to his Knowledge, at different Times, from old Papers; and from Persons, who, though ignorant of present Affairs, yet would pretend to foretell what was to come. These Things in Prosperity are little regarded, but too much in Adversity.*

Measures
 taken by
Ferdinando
 for his
 Security.

DISTURBED by so many Reflections, and the Danger appearing without Comparison greater than any rational Hope of Safety; he found he had no other Remedy left, than, by yielding to some of the King of *France's* Pretensions, lessen the Grounds that mov'd him to this Invasion.

FEDERIGO, the second Son of *Ferdinando*

* It was pretended, that *St. Cataldo*, above 1000 Years before, had writ a Book of Prophecies concerning the Affairs of *Naples*; and at this Juncture had appeared to the Sacristan of the Church, where he was bury'd, and informed him where he might find the old Manuscript.

Ferdinando, was married to a Sister of King *Charles's* Mother, by whom he had a Daughter called *Carlotta*, who was educated at the *French* Court, where *Ferdinando* had sent Ambassadors to treat about a Match for his Grand-daughter with the young King of *Scotland*. *Ferdinando* took this Opportunity of joining to them *Camillo Pandone*, who had before been his Agent at *Paris*, with Instructions to use their best Endeavours, by bribing the King's Ministers, to turn his Mind from the *Italian* Expedition; and if that Method was not sufficient, they were commission'd to offer his Majesty an annual Tribute, or any other Satisfaction he could reasonably expect for his Claim.

HE next made Use of his Authority to compromise the Affair of the Castles with the Pope; laying all the Blame on *Virginio's* Obstinacy, and reviv'd the Treaty for a Marriage between their natural Children: But his chief Concern was to pacify and assure himself of *Lodovico Sforza*, Author and Promoter of all these Evils. He well knew his violent
Resolu-

A. D. Resolutions had been caus'd by Fear ;
 1493. and, therefore, preferring his own Security
 to that of his Grand-Children, he assur'd
 him, that he would leave the Decision of
 his Pretensions to the Dukedom of *Milan*
 to himself, without any Regard to the
 Persuasions of his Son *Alfonso* ; who
 despising *Lodovico* for his natural Pusil-
 lanimity, press'd his Father to force
 him from his new Alliance by Terror
 and Threats ; without conceiving, that the
 Timorous are as often driven into precipi-
 tate Counsels by Despair ; as the Rash, for
 want of reflecting on the Dangers they
 undertake.

A Treaty
 between
 the Pope
 and *Ferdi-*
nando. FERDINANDO, at last, sent his Son *Fede-*
rigo to *Rome*, and settled all his Affairs with
 the Pope: He oblig'd *Virginio* to pay over
 again to *Alexander*, the Sum he had before
 paid to *Cibo* for the Purchase of the Cas-
 tles ; and a Match was concluded between
Madama Sances, and *Don Giuffre*, the Pope's
 youngest Son, though neither as yet of a
 proper Age for Wedlock.

THE Conditions were, that *Giuffre*, in a few Months, should go to *Naples*, and receive in Dowry the Principality of *Squillaci*, with a yearly Income of Ten Thousand Ducats, and have the Command of an Hundred Men at Arms in *Ferdinando's* Army. This confirmed Mankind in the Belief, that *Alexander's* particular Reason for sending to treat in *France*, was to frighten the King of *Naples* into his Measures. *Ferdinando* endeavour'd to persuade the Pope to enter into an Alliance with him for the Good of *Italy*. But *Alexander* raised so many Difficulties, that all he was able to obtain, and that with great Secrecy, was a Brief for a defensive Treaty between them two only, for the Protection of each other's Dominions, in case they should be attack'd. As soon as these Articles were sign'd, the *Venetian* and *Milanese* Troops, who came to the Pope's Aid, were dismissed.

A. D.

1493.

FERDINANDO flatter'd himself he should have equal Success with *Lodovico*, who very artfully sooth'd the Allies; sometimes making them believe, he never intended

A. D. 1493. to favour a *French* Invasion, which might prove so dangerous to *Italy*: At other times, he pretended to have only, seemingly, let himself be persuaded by the King of *France*, with whom there were former Alliances subsisting, and to whom he had Obligations for the State of *Genoa*, which he held in Fief; and then sending separately to *Ferdinando*, the Pope, and *Piero de Medici*, he gave each to understand, that he would endeavour to mitigate the young King's fiery Temper. In this Manner he thought proper to amuse them, lest they should fall upon him, before the *French* were in Readiness; and he was the more readily believ'd, as every one thought he run too great a Risk, by admitting so potent a King into *Italy*.

THE whole Summer was spent in these Negotiations, at which *Charles* took no sort of Umbrage; whilst *Ferdinando*, and the *Florentines*, neither despaired of, nor totally confided in, the Performance of *Lodovico's* Promises.

ALL this while they were laying in
France

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France a solid Foundation for the Execution of this new Enterprize, by composing all Differences with *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, joint King and Queen of *Spain*; Princes, in those Days, of great Reputation for having settled Peace in their Realms, which had before been very turbulent; as also, for having, after a Ten Years War, dispossest the *Moors* of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which they had occupied for near Eight Centuries.

A. D.
1493.
A Treaty
between
Charles
the VIII.
and *Ferdinando*
King of
Spain.

IT was stipulated in a Capitulation, with public Oaths on one Side, and in the Church by the other, that neither *Ferdinando*, nor *Isabella* (in both whose Names *Spain* was then govern'd) directly nor indirectly, should give any Aid to the House of *Arragon* in *Naples*; make any new Alliance with them; or any way whatsoever oppose *Charles* in this Expedition; who, to obtain such seeming Advantages, began with a certain Loss, for uncertain Gain, by restoring *Perpignan*, with all the *Roussillon*, that had long since been given in Pledge to *Lewis* his

F 2 Father,

A. D. Father, by *Giovanni*, King of *Arragon*,
 1493. the Father of *Ferdinando*.

THIS Concession very much disgusted the *French* Nation: For that Province being situated at the Foot of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, was, according to the antient Division, Part of *Gaul*, and hindered the *Spaniards* from invading *France* on that Side.

FOR the same Reasons, *Charles* made
 A Treaty Peace with *Maximilian*, King of the
 between *Romans*, * and his Son *Philip*, who had
 Charles the VIII. been long at Variance, first with *Lewis XI.*
 and *Maximilian*. and after with himself, on account of his
 Father's taking Possession of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the Province of *Artois*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood, after the Death of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Flanders*; which Territories, they pretended, belong'd to the House of *Austria*. The
 last

* The Historian calls *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, though he was then Emperor; which Title was never given to the Emperors by the *Italians* in those Days, till they were crowned in Person by the Pope.

last *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, left a Daughter, *Maria* by Name, who soon after her Father's Death, married *Maximilian*, and *Philip* was their Son. After many bloody Wars, more by the Desire of the *Flemings*, than by his own Inclinations, *Maximilian*, upon his Wife's Decease, made Peace with the *French*. To corroborate which, *Margaret*, *Philip's* Sister, though under Age, was espoused to *Charles*, but after she had been kept several Years at the *French* Court, was repudiated, to make Way for *Anne*, the only Daughter of *Francis*, Duke of *Brittany*, and Heiress to that Dutchy: *Maximilian*, at the same Time, was doubly injur'd, in his Daughter's Match, and in his own; for he had already espoused *Anne* by Procuration: But now finding himself unable to carry on the War he had enter'd into on this Account; that the Regency of *Flanders* was determin'd not to break with *France*, in their Prince's Minority; and observing that *Spain* and *England* had laid down their Arms; he also agreed to a Peace: In Consequence of which, *Charles* restor'd all the *Artois*,
F 3 except

A. D. except the Forts, which he also engag'd
 1493 to deliver up at the End of Four Years,
 when *Philip* would be of Age to confirm
 this Agreement. The Reason given for
 parting with *Artois*, was, that it had been
 consider'd as *Margaret's* Dowry, who
 was now sent back to her Father. By
 this Peace, *Charles* found himself at Li-
 berty to prosecute his Expedition against
Naples, which was resolved on, at *Lodo-
 vico's* Instance, for the following Year.

Lodovico
 gives his
 Niece in
 Marriage
 to *Maxi-
 milian*.

As the Ambition of Mankind rises
 from one Step to another, so *Lodovico*,
 not satisfy'd with securing himself in the
 Government of *Milan*, now aspired at
 nothing less than to be created Duke,
 which he thought might be easily com-
 pass'd, if the *Arragonians* were depressed.
 To give some Colour of Justice to this
 premeditated Piece of Iniquity, and more
 firmly to establish himself, he married his
 Niece, *Bianca Maria*, Sister of *Giovanni*
Galeazzo, the present Duke, to *Maximi-
 lian*, who, after the Death of his Father
Frederick, had been lately elected Em-
 peror.

Lodovico

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LODOVICO agreed to give her in ^{A. D.} Portion Four Hundred Thousand Ducats, ¹⁴⁹³ at different Payments, and the Value of Forty Thousand more in Jewels.

MAXIMILIAN, pleas'd more with the Money than the Alliance, to the Prejudice of his new Brother-in-law, engag'd to invest *Lodovico* and his Descendants in the Dukedom of *Milan*; alledging the Fief was devolv'd to the Empire at the Demise of *Philippo Maria Visconti*. The new Deed of Investiture was to be drawn in a most ample Form, and sign'd on the last Payment of the Dowry.

THE *Visconti* Family is very antient and considerable in the State of *Milan*. ^{The *Visconti* Family.} During the bloody Feuds between the two Factions of the *Guelfi* and *Ghibellini*, one of the Heads of the *Visconti* expell'd the *Guelfi* out of *Milan*; and, as it commonly happens at the End of Civil Wars, from Chief of a Party, made himself Master of the State. Some Years after, according to the Custom of Usur-

A. D.

1493

pers, he was desirous of possessing, in a legal Manner, what he had obtain'd by Force; and with Titles making more illustrious his Family, which in *Italy* had hitherto been rather reverenc'd than dreaded: Wherefore he, and his Descendants after him, found Means of acquiring from the Emperors, first the Title of Captains, then Vicars of the Empire; and at last *Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti*, who styl'd himself Count *Virtus*, (an Earldom conferr'd on him by his Father-in-law, *John* King of *France*) obtain'd from *Winceflaus*, King of the *Romans*, the Dignity of Duke of *Milan*, for himself, and his Heirs Male. His two Sons, *Giovanmaria* and *Philippo Maria* succeeded him: They both dy'd without Issue; and *Philippo Maria*, by his last Will, left the Dutchy to *Alfonso*, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, in Consideration of the Friendship contracted with him, at the Time he was his Prisoner at *Milan*: And also, because he imagin'd that the Dutchy, being defended by so powerful a Prince, ran no Risque of falling under

THE WARS IN ITALY. 73

under the Dominion of the aspiring *Venetians*. A. D. 1493.

BUT *Francesco Sforza*, a Man of great Power, and very much esteem'd for his Knowledge and Experience both in Civil and Military Affairs, by Force of Arms got Possession of the State, which he claim'd in Right of his Wife, *Bianca Maria*, a natural Daughter of the last Duke, *Philippo Maria*. In getting Possession of this Dutchy many Accidents concurr'd in his Favour; and especially that of having it in his Power to break his Word with those who had join'd him, on his Promise of not attempting the Sovereignty. *Francesco*, for a small Sum of Money (as was reported) might have procur'd the Investiture from the Emperor *Frederick*; but being confident, he was able to support his Power, by the same Means he had acquir'd it, he despis'd that sort of Right, and left the Dukedom to his Son *Galeazzo*; to whom succeeded this *Giovanni Galeazzo* without Investiture.

The
Sforza
Family.

A. D.

1493.

Lodovico
procures
for him-
self the
Investi-
ture of
the Dut-
chy of
Milan.

tural Part against his living Nephew, and an injurious one to the Memory of his deceas'd Father and Brother, asserted they had govern'd without a Title, and therefore the Dukedom was revolved to the Empire. Then, procuring for himself the Investiture from *Maximilian*, styl'd himself not Seventh, but Fourth Duke. However, he kept this a Secret till the Death of his Nephew. He was wont to say, in Imitation of *Cyrus*, the younger Brother of *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, that he preceded *Galeazzo* his Brother, not in Age, but as being born after his Father was Duke; and found Means to obtain the Opinion of many Civilians in his Favour. But what is still more remarkable, this Reason, amongst others, was given in the Imperial Diploma; and, under a ridiculous Notion of palliating *Lodovico's* Ambition, by way of Clause it was added, That it was not the Custom of the Holy *Roman* Empire, to grant Investitures to any that were in Possession of their Dominions, by any other than the Imperial Authority; and that *Maximilian*

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75

milian had therefore rejected the Petition *A. D.*
Lodovico had made for the Investiture ^{1493.}
in Behalf of his Nephew; because, without any previous Application to him, he had been acknowledg'd Duke by the People of *Milan*.

THE King of *Naples* was in Hopes, that this new Match would produce a Dissention between *Charles* and *Lodovico*, imagining it could not be agreeable to the former, that the King of the *Romans*, his natural Enemy, should be supply'd by the latter with so large a Sum of Money, and their Interest by this Affinity united. He also expected, that *Sforza* would now boldly recede from the Engagement he had enter'd into with *Charles*. *Lodovico* was sagacious enough to encourage that King, and the rest of the *Italians*, in these Notions, and at the same Time maintain his Interest both with the King of the *Romans* and *France*.

FERDINANDO apply'd to the *Venetians*, who, he had Reason to think, were not fond of having their Power eclipsed
by

A. D. by the Arrival in *Italy* of so potent a
 1493. King: And the *Spanish* Sovereigns promis'd him large Succours, in case their Remonstrances did not meet with Success in preventing this Invasion.

Perone di Baccio THE King of *France*, on the other
 sent to the Hand, that he might remove all Diffi-
Italian culties beyond the Mountains, sent *Perone*
 Potentates *di Baccio*, a Person well versed in the Con-
 cerns of *Italy* (where he had formerly been with *Giovanni d' Anjou*) to notify to the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Florentines*, his Resolution of passing the *Alps*, in order to recover the Kingdom of *Naples*, inviting them to join him. But he receiv'd only general Answers; every one refusing, as yet, to declare his Sentiments, as the War was not to be commenc'd till the Year following.

Charles CHARLES requir'd of the *Florentine*
 demands Ambassadors, who, by *Ferdinando's* Ap-
 of the *Fla-* probation, had been sent to his Court,
rentines a to clear their Republic from the Imputa-
 Passage tion of being partial to the *Arragonians*;
 for his that he should be promis'd a safe Passage
 Troops. and

and Provisions for his Army through their Dominions, on their paying for all Necessaries; and that, as a Token of their Friendship, they should accompany his Troops with a Hundred of their Men at Arms.

A. D.

1493

THEY remonstrated how dangerous such an Agreement might prove, before they could be supported by his Army; affirming, he might always be sure of their City, from the natural Propension of the *Florentines* to his Nation: But *Charles*, with *French* Vivacity, gave them to understand, that if they did not immediately give a categorical Answer, he would instantly banish all the *Florentine* Merchants, who were numerous in *France*.

IT was soon discovered that *Lodovico* was at the Bottom of these Counsels; and was also the sole Guide and Director of all that concerned the *French* Interest in *Italy*.

PIERO DE MEDICI endeavoured to get *Ferdinando's* Consent, that his Republic

A. D. 1493. public might comply with these Demands; which, he said, in the Main, were insignificant; and that he might find it more to his Purpose, to have *Charles* imagine, by a feign'd Compliance, he could depend on him and his Republic: For that might, perhaps, enable them to be his Mediators to bring about some Composition. Next, he endeavour'd to make him sensible, how odious he should be render'd to his Country, when, for the Refusal of such Trifles, the *Florentine* Merchants should be banish'd *France*. He added, that for the common Good, which was the chief Ground of all Alliances, it was often necessary to bear with some Inconveniences.

BUT *Ferdinando* being sensible, how much his Reputation would be diminish'd, and his Safety endanger'd, in case the *Florentines* were to separate themselves from his Interest, would, by no Means, admit of these Reasons; and bitterly complain'd, that *Piero's* Steadiness, on which he had reposed his chief Dependance, should so early be shaken.

PIERO

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PIERO being determin'd, above all *A. D.*
 Things, not to disoblige *Ferdinando*, con- ^{1493.}
 trived several Excuses to protract the An-
 swer, so immediately requir'd by the *French*
 King; and at last let him know, he
 would send new Ambassadors with the
 final Determination of the Republic.

At the latter End of this Year, the *The Car-*
 good Intelligence between the Pope and ^{dinal of}
Ferdinando began visibly to decline; either ^{St. Piero}
 because *Alexander*, by raising Difficulties, ^{in Vincola}
 expected to reap greater Advantages; or, ^{retires to}
 in order to bring under his Obedience ^{Ostia.}
 the Cardinal of *St. Piero* in *Vincola*.
 This Cardinal was retir'd into the King-
 dom of *Naples*, and the Pope insisted on
 his Return, offering, for a Pledge of his
 Security, the Faith of the sacred Col-
 lege, and the Parole of the *Venetians*.
 His Absence created *Alexander* a great deal
 of Uneasiness, on Account of the Castles
 of *Ostia*, *Ronciglione*, and *Grotta Ferrata*,
 all in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and
 in *Vincola's* Possession. Besides, he was
 a Man of great Authority, and had many
 Adherents in the *Roman* Court; was by
 Nature

A. D. Nature desirous of Novelties ; obstinate,
 1493 and difficult to be dissuaded from any
 Resolution once taken.

F E R D I N A N D O excused himself, by assuring the Pope, that he could not induce the Cardinal to comply ; not being able to persuade him, that any Security was equal to the Danger he apprehended. He then complained of his hard Fate, in being oblig'd to sustain the Blame of other People's Faults. Thus he had been accus'd of advancing Money to *Virginio* for the Purchase of the Castles, tho' it was through his Interest that *Virginio* had come to a Composition ; and he himself had advanced the Money, which was paid to his Holiness on that Account. But these Excuses were not admitted by the obstinate *Pontiff* ; who reproached him with Ingratitude, and threaten'd him with his Resentment : This induced People to believe, that little Strefs was to be laid on their late Reconciliation.

I N this Disposition of Minds, and Confusion of Affairs, began the Year

A. D. ^{1494.} *Eustre*, than, perhaps, any of his Predecessors. A good King, if he had continu'd to rule with the same Conduct with which he began: But, in Process of Time, when he found himself firmly establish'd, either altering his way of thinking, or, like many other Princes, making a bad Use of his unlimited Authority; or, rather, discovering his ill Temper, till then very artfully conceal'd, he became so tyrannical, that he acquir'd the Appellation of Faithless, Cruel, and Inhuman.*

A Loss to
the Cause
of Italy.

IT was generally thought, the Death of *Ferdinando* was a Loss to the Common Cause of *Italy*. For, besides his unwearied Endeavours, in finding out Expedients to prevent the Passage of the *French*, *Lodovico* would sooner have been induc'd to treat with him, than with his proud and passionate Son; who was not so likely as his Father to humble himself to him. When *Alfonso* gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza*, on her Arrival at *Milan*, *Lodovico* fell in Love, and

* *Ferdinando*, the 25th of Jan. 1494 was 70 Years old, and had reigned 35 Years, 6 Months, and 25 Days. *Giovio*.

and demanded her for himself. *Ferdinando* A. D. 1494. would have agreed, had it not been for *Alfonso*, who with Scorn rejected his Offers: Which so much incensed *Lodovico*, that, according to a Report generally credited, he gave *Giovanni Galeazzo* a Potion, which render'd him impotent for some Months. Then marrying, he began to contrive Means to make himself, and his Descendants, Dukes of *Milan*.

IT was likewise said, that *Ferdinando*, who would suffer any Indignity to avert the impending Danger, was determin'd, as soon as the Season permitted, to go with his Gallies to *Genoa*, from thence to *Milan*, and there comply with every thing *Lodovico* should require, and bring back his Grand-daughter; in hopes this humble Submission would mitigate and gain him; it being well known, how ardently *Lodovico* desir'd to be thought the sole Arbiter and Oracle of *Italy*.

ALFONSO, at his first coming to *Alfonso* the Crown, sent four Ambassadors to the sends Am-
bassadors Pope, whom he now suspected to be to- to the tally Pope.

A. D. 1494. tally in the *French* Interest ; for he had lately created the Bishop of *St. Maló* a Cardinal * ; and, in Concert with *Lodovico*, taken *Prospero Colonna*, and other *Neapolitan* Barons; into his Pay. Yet the Offers made by the new King, who, at any Rate, thought it necessary to gain him, were such, that *Alexander* could not withstand them.

An Alliance between the Pope and *Alfonso*.

AN Alliance was then publicly concluded between *Alfonso* and the Pope, for the Defence of their respective Dominions ; engaging to assist each other with a certain Number of Men. *Alexander* promised to give *Alfonso* the Investiture of his Kingdom, with the same Diminution of the Tribute, which before had been granted only for *Ferdinando's* Life ; to send an Apostolic Legate to crown him ; and create *Lodovico*, the Son of his natural Brother, Don *Henrico*, a Cardinal ; who was afterwards call'd the Cardinal of *Arragon*.

THE

* *Corio* is of Opinion, that the Pope created the Bishop of *St. Maló* a Cardinal, in hopes of preventing, thro' his Interest, the King's Expedition into *Italy*.

A. D.

1494.

THE King, on his Part, was to pay the Pope immediately Thirty Thousand Ducats; and provide, in the following Manner, for his three Sons. To give Possessions in his Kingdom, to the value of Twelve Thousand Ducats a Year, to the Duke of *Candia*; on whom he should also bestow the first of the seven principal Offices that became vacant; and, during his Holiness's Life, he should have a Regiment of Three Hundred Men at Arms; to be employ'd in the Service of either, as Occasion should require: Don *Giuffre*, as a Pledge of the Pope's Sincerity, should reside at the King's Court; and, besides the Appointments agreed on at the former Convention, should be made Prothonotary; which is one of the seven great Employments: And for *Cæsar Borgia*, whom he had lately created a Cardinal, he should be endow'd with rich Benefices in his Kingdom. *Alexander*, in order to qualify *Cæsar* for the Purple, had, by false Witnesses, prov'd him to be a legitimate Child of another Gentleman; Bastards being excluded from that Dignity.

Alfonso
engages to
provide
for the
Pope's
Children.

A. D.

1494.

VIRGINIO ORSINI, who was present at this Congress, and had the King's Credentials, engaged, that *Alfonso* should assist his Holiness in recovering the Castle of *Ostia*, in case the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola* should refuse to return to *Rome*. But the King refused to ratify this Article, affirming, it was without his Knowledge such a Promise had been made. *Alfonso* thought it very dangerous to have that Cardinal his Enemy; for he had great Influence in *Genoa*; on which, at the Instigation of that Prelate, he design'd to make an Attempt. Besides, he was afraid of carrying Matters too far, least the Cardinal should appeal to a Council, and create more Broils: So he try'd all Means to reconcile him to the Pope; but he would hearken to nothing, unless he return'd to *Rome*.

THE Cardinal, on the other side, was as obstinately determin'd not to trust his Life, (as he us'd to express himself) in the Hands of a *Catalan*; and therefore disappointed both *Alfonso* and *Alexander*:

For

The Cardinal of
St. Piero in Vincola
retires into
France.

For, after feigning to come into all that ^{A. D.} was propos'd, he departed suddenly one ^{1494.} Night on board a small Vessel from *Ostia*, (which Place he left well garrison'd) and after staying a few Days at *Savona*, came to *Avignon*, where he was Legate : From thence he went to *Lyons*, to join the other *Italian* Malecontents, and was graciously receiv'd by *Charles* ; who, in that Place, was making the necessary Preparations for the intended Expedition, which he gave out he would conduct in Person.

ALFONSO, taught by Fear, could now dissemble ; and made *Lodovico* the same Offers his Father had done. *Sforza* craftily amus'd him with vain Hopes ; and endeavour'd to persuade him, that he was under a Necessity of acting cautiously in regard to *France*, lest the War, design'd against others, might fall on his own Dominions. He sent, at the same Time, to the *French* Court, (but, as he pretended, at *Charles's* Request) *Galeazzo di San Severino*, who had married his natural Daughter, to hasten the March, and to communicate the Particulars, with which

A. D. he thought it would be proper to begin
 1494. the Expedition.

Four Am-
 bassadors
 sent by
Charles
 into *Italy*.

By his Advice, the King dispatch'd four Ambassadors into *Italy*; *Everard Obigni*, a *Scotch-man*; the General of the Kingdom; the President of the Parliament of *Provence*; and *Perone di Baccio*, the same Person who had been there the Year before. They receiv'd the most of their Instructions from *Lodovico*; which chiefly were intended to dispose the Minds of the *Italians*, wherever they pass'd, in the King's Favour. They were commission'd to declare, that as a lineal Descendant of *Charles I.* he claim'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was coming into *Italy* to get Possession of his Right, (without Intention to molest any other Potentate) which would enable him afterwards to turn his Arms against the *Turks*, in order to propagate the Gospel, and exalt the Christian Name. *

A T

* To this Day the *Italians* in general exult whenever a Christian Potentate declares War against the *Turks*: And it is customary for the Emperor and the *Venetians* to send Ambassadors, on such Occasions, to collect Money from

THE WARS IN ITALY.

89

AT *Florence* they represented, how *A. D.*
 that City had been rebuilt by *Charles* the *1494.*
 Great, and was always favour'd by the *Their Pro-*
 Kings of *France*; and lately by the pre-ceedings
 sent King's Father, *Lewis XI.* in the *Florence.*
 unjust Wars rais'd against them by Pope
Sixtus, *Ferdinando*, and his Son *Alfonso*:
 That their Merchants had always been
 encourag'd in *France*, and treated with as
 much Regard as if they had been Natives,
 and should be more caress'd at *Naples*,
 when the King was in Possession of it:
 A Treatment they had never met with
 from the *Arragonians*, from whom they
 had received nothing but Injuries and
 Losses: They then perswaded them to
 enter into an Alliance with *France*. But
 if, for any political Reasons, they did not
 think proper to declare themselves, that
 they would at least agree to give a free
 Passage through their Territories to the
French Army, on their paying for all
 Necessaries.

IN

from all the *Italian* Powers. I myself, on the taking
 of *Belgrade* by *Charles VI.* have seen as great Rejoicings
 at *Florence*, as if it had been an Acquisition made by the
 Great Duke of *Tuscany*.

A. D.

1494.

IN this Manner they reason'd with the Republic, but made use of other Arguments with *Piero de Medici*. They reminded him of the many Favours and Honours conferr'd by *Lewis XI.* on his Father and Family : How, in troublesome Times, to give them Reputation, they had been permitted to quarter the Arms of *France*. That, on the contrary, *Ferdinando*, not satisfy'd with the Trouble he had given the *Florentines* by his Arms, had been also concern'd in the State-Plots, in which his Uncle *Giuliano* had been murder'd, and his Father *Lorenzo* dangerously wounded.

The Pope
requested
to favour
the French.

THE Ambassadors not obtaining a positive Answer at *Florence*, proceeded to *Rome* ; and laid before his Holiness, how antient and modern History was full of the Merits of the *French* Monarchs, and of the constant Regard the Royal Family of *France* had ever profess'd for the Holy See ; adducing, at the same Time, many Instances of the Contumacy and Disobedience of the *Arragonians* : They then demanded

demanded the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* for *Charles*, as his indubitable Right; and made him many liberal Promises, if he would favour his Majesty's Expedition; as he had all the Reason to expect, since it was undertaken by his Holiness's Authority and Persuasion.

A. D.
1494.

THE Pope's Answer was, That as the Investiture had been given three times successively to the House of *Arragon*, (*Alfonso* being expressly nam'd in that of *Ferdinando's*) it was not reasonable to grant it to another, until it was judicially determin'd, who had the best Claim: That what had been granted to *Alfonso* would no ways affect *Charles*; because this Clause, *without Prejudice to any one's Right*, was purposely inserted in the Deed: That the Kingdom of *Naples* was a direct Dominion of the Holy See; and he hoped the present King would imitate his Ancestors, (who were ever the chief Defenders of the Church's Rights) and not assault it with open Violence, but proceed in a legal Manner, as most became the Dignity of his Person: And as he

Alexander's Answer.

A. D. 1494. he himself was the Supreme Lord of the Fief, and sole Judge of the Cause, he might depend upon having Justice done him: That this was all a Most Christian King ought to require from a *Roman Pontiff*, whose Province it was to appease and extinguish Animosities, not to foment Wars between Christian Princes. He then expatiated on the Difficulties and Dangers that would attend his joining his Majesty, by reason of the Vicinity of his Territories to those of *Alfonso* and the *Florentines*; as the last would be seconded by all *Tuscany*, and the Dependance the King of *Naples* had on his Barons was very great, some of whose Principalities extended to the Gates of *Rome*. But he artfully dropped Expressions, which might create some Hope, tho' he was in himself fully determin'd not to quit his Alliance with *Alfonso*.

The Flo- THE common People of *Florence* were, *rentines* for several Reasons, desirous not to break *desirous of* contenting with the King of *France*; namely, for the *France.* Profits they made by their Commerce; from

from a false Notion of their City's being rebuilt by *Charlemain*, after it had been destroy'd by *Tottila*, King of the *Goths*; for the Affection they bore the *Anjouin's*, whose Kings had always espous'd the Faction of the *Guelfi*; and for the Remembrance of the Invasions, which *Alfonso* first, and then *Ferdinando*, in 1472 had made of their Country.

A. D.

1494.

BUT the better and more prudent Sort were moved by political Reasons: They thought it very imprudent to involve the State in a dangerous War, for their Neighbour's Quarrels, by opposing so powerful an Army; headed by their King in Person, who enter'd *Italy* with the Assistance of the State of *Milan*; they consider'd also that the *Venetians*, if they did not approve, at least they had not protested against this Passage.

To confirm their Opinion, they had the Authority of *Cosimo de Medici*, deem'd one of the wisest Men of his Age; who, in the Differences between *Giovanni d'Anjou* and *Ferdinando*, (though the latter was

A. D. 1494. was supported by the Pope, and Duke of Milan) had always counsell'd their Republic not to oppose *Giovanni*: They also call'd to Mind *Lorenzo*, Father of *Piero*, who at every Report of the Return of the *Anjouins* was always of the same Opinion as *Cosimo*; and, terrify'd at the Power of the *French*, after they were become Masters of *Britanny*, used to say, that he foresaw great Calamities threatening *Italy*, whenever the Kings of *France* became sensible of their Strength.

BUT *Piero*, actuated more by Inclination than Prudence, thinking this mighty Storm would blow over, willingly listen'd to the Persuasions of some of his Ministers, who were suspected to have been corrupted by *Alfonso*, and absolutely refused to give any Cause of Uneasiness to the King of *Naples*: And his Power was so great in *Florence*, that all were oblig'd to submit to his Will.

I HAVE it from good Authority, that *Piero*, not content with the Power his Father had exercis'd in the Republic, tho' such,

such that he had the Nomination of all the Magistrates, and nothing of Moment could be transacted without his Approbation, yet aspired to the absolute Sovereignty, and intended to take upon him the Title of Prince; little imagining that so rich and powerful a City, which had been for so many Ages free, (where the better Sort of Citizens were accusom'd to be Partakers of the Government, and had more the Appearance of Independents, than Subjects) would submit to such an Alteration, without a vigorous Resistance. It is probable, that *Piero*, despairing to accomplish his Ends, without some powerful Assistance, in order to support his intended Usurpation, had enter'd into so strict an Alliance with the *Arragonians*; with whom he was determin'd either to stand or fall.

A LITTLE before the Return of the French Ambassadors to Florence, it was discover'd, that *Lorenzo* and *Giovanni de Medici*, both rich Citizens, and nearly related to *Piero*) with whom they were disgusted on some trifling Account, thro' the

A Plot against *Piero de Medici*.

A. D. 1494. the Means of *Cosimo Rucellai*, who was his Cousin-german; were treating with *Lodovico Sforza*, and the King of *France*, about Measures proper to be taken to humble *Piero*. All the Punishment they receiv'd from the Magistrate, was, a Confinement to their Country Houses: Tho' it was with great Difficulty *Piero* was prevail'd on not to inflict upon them the Rigour of the Law; but by this Accident, being more than ever convinc'd that *Lodovico Sforza*, was bent on his Destruction; he judg'd it more necessary to persevere in the Measures he had taken.

The Answer of the
Florentines to
the French
Ambassadors.

THE Answer of the Republic was then given to the *French* Ambassadors, couch'd in respectful Terms, but no ways answerable to their Expectations. On one Hand, they set forth the natural Attachment of the *Florentines*, to the Royal House of *France*; together with their earnest Desire to satisfy so glorious a King: On the other, the Impediments that lay in their Way, alledging that nothing could be more unworthy of a Prince,

Prince, or a Republic, than a Breach of *A. D.*
Faith; which would be the Case, were ¹⁴⁹⁴
they to agree to his Request: For an Alliance they had contracted, by the Authority of *Lewis* his Father, with *Ferdinando*, was not yet expir'd; it being expressly mention'd, that it should continue, after *Ferdinando's* Death, with *Alfonso*: And by one of the Articles, they were oblig'd to defend the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to refuse a Passage to any Power whatsoever, that offer'd to invade it: That they were extremely sorry to give his Majesty a Denial; but hop'd, that in his Wisdom and Justice, he would regard their good Disposition, and attribute their Refusal to such just Motives.

THE King was highly provok'd at this Answer, and immediately ordered ^{The Flo-}
their Ambassadors to quit his Kingdom: ^{rentine}
And, at the Instigation of *Lodovico*, he ^{Ambassa-}
also banished from *Lyons* the *Florentine* ^{dors or-}
^{quit}
Merchants, that is to say, those only who ^{France.}
belonged to the Bank of *Piero*, that the Republic might be sensible, he thought

A. D. himself injur'd solely by him, and not
 1494. by the City of *Florence*. *

IN this Manner, most of the *Italian* Potentates were divided, some in Favour of, some in Opposition to *France*: But the *Venetians*, notwithstanding the pressing Instances from both Kings, were determin'd to remain only Spectators, and observe a strict Neutrality; either because they did not dislike to see Disturbances in *Italy*, in hopes that a long War might give them Opportunities of extending their Dominions; or being so powerful, they thought themselves in no sort of Danger of falling a prey to the Conqueror; and that it was therefore imprudent, without evident Necessity, to make other Peoples quarrels their own.

The *Flo-* THE King of *France*, both in the
rentine Year preceeding, and at this Juncture,
Ambassa- had sent Ambassadors, to lay before them
dors or- the perfect Harmony and Friendship, that
dered to quit
France. had always subsisted between *France* and
 their

* The *Medici* Family got an immense Wealth by Trade, and were by much the greatest Bankers in those Days.

their Republic, and the mutual Readiness *A. D.*
of both States to oblige each other on ¹⁴⁹⁴
all Occasions: Now the King, desirous
to strengthen this Disposition, entreated
that most wise Senate to assist him in
his Expedition to *Naples* with their Coun-
sel and Favour. To which they prudent-
ly and briefly reply'd; That his Most
Christian Majesty was so wise himself, and
abounded with such able Counsellors,
that it would be Presumption in any
one to advise him; adding, that out of
the great Regard they had for his Per-
son, they should rejoice at any good
Fortune that attended him, but were
extremely sorry, they could not with
Deeds testify the Willingness of their
Hearts, by reason of the continual Alarms
they lay under of being attack'd by the
Turk, who wanted neither Will nor Op-
portunity to molest them: The Govern-
ment, therefore, was under a perpetual
Necessity of keeping Garrisons in so
many Islands, and Maritime Coasts, which
border'd on the *Ottoman* Empire; and
that was attended with so vast an Ex-
H 2 pence,

A. D. 1494. pence, they could not, in Prudence, entangle themselves in other Wars.

AMIDST these ineffectual Sollicitations, great Preparations were making by the *French* in all Parts, both by Sea and Land. *Genoa* was govern'd by *Lodovico*, who favour'd the *Adorni's*, and *Giovanni Luigi Fieschi*, who were at the Head of the most powerful Faction in that City. *Charles* sent thither *Peter Urfé*, his Grand Equerry, with Orders to equip, in that Port, a powerful Fleet of Ships and Gallies. At the same Time several other Vessels were arming at *Marseilles* and *Villa Franca*, which made People judge he intended to attack *Naples* by Sea, as formerly *Giovanni*, the Son of *Renato*, had done.

MANY wise People in *France* still believ'd the Expedition would not take Place; grounding their Opinion on the King's weak Capacity, the Ignorance of his Counsellors, and the Want of Money. But *Charles's* Ardour could not be controul'd. At the Persuasion of some about him,

him, he had already styl'd himself King *A. D.*
of *Jerusalem*, and the two *Sicilies*, Titles ^{1494.}
of the *Neapolitan* Kings; was intent on
levying all the Men and Money he could
procure, and conferr'd constantly with
Galeazzo di San Severino, who was privy
to all *Lodovico's* Secrets.

ALFONSO, on the other Hand, did *Alfonso re-*
not neglect his Preparations, and resolv- ^{calls his}
ing to be no longer cajoled by *Lodovico's* ^{Minister}
fair Promises, thought it more expedi- ^{from Mi-}
ent to terrify and molest, than lose Time ^{lan.}
to gain or mollify him: He therefore
ordered the *Milaneſe* Minister to quit
Naples; recall'd his own from *Milan*,
and put under Sequeſtration the Re-
venues of the Dutchy of *Bari*, which
had been assign'd to *Lodovico* ſeveral
Years ſince by *Ferdinando*; and not ſa-
tisfy'd with theſe, rather Indications of
Enmity, than real Hoſtilities, he deter-
mined to be the firſt in acting offenſive-
ly.

HE was ſenſible of what Importance
it would be to his Cauſe, to have the Fa-

A. D.

1494

vour of the City of *Genoa* ; as from thence the *Milaneſe* might be eaſily moleſted, and the King of *France* would be deprived of a Port, that lay ſo convenient for attacking *Naples* by Sea: He therefore treated with Cardinal *Paolo Fregoso*, who had been Doge, and had ſeveral of his Family attach'd to his Intereſt, with *Obgetto Fieſchi*; both Heads of ſtrong Parties, and alſo with ſome of the diſcontented *Adorni*'s. Theſe were all Fugitives, on ſome Account or other; and *Alfonſo* was determin'd to reſtore them with a powerful Fleet; being often heard to ſay, that Diversions and Preventions, were the beſt Means to overcome an Enemy.

HE alſo deſign'd to go himſelf, at the Head of a numerous Army, into *Romagna*, and from thence to *Parma*; where, by ſetting up the Standard of *Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza*, he hop'd moſt of the *Milaneſe* would reſort to him. By this March, he truſted he ſhould at leaſt prevent the Enemy from beginning the War in his own Country; and thought it
very

very material, that the *French* should be overtaken by the Winter in *Lombardy*, from whence they could not move for some Months, for Want of Herbage; it having hitherto been the Custom, in the Wars of *Italy*, that the Armies, on that Account, never took the Field, 'till the latter End of *April*: This Conduct, he imagin'd, would oblige the *French* to remain in the Country of their Ally, 'till Spring; all which Time gain'd, he hop'd something in the Interim might turn out for his Interest.

HE also sent Ambassadors to the Grand Signior, to implore his Aid, and join him, as in a common Danger; assuring him, if the *French* conquer'd his Kingdom, they would soon afterwards, as they themselves publicly asserted, pass into *Greece*; This was a Danger, he knew *Bajazet* would not despise; being fully sensible of the Terror and Desolation, that, in former Years, was brought amongst them by the *French*, in the Time of the *Crusades*.

A. D.
1494.

Alfonso
applies to
Bajazet
for Assistance.

A. D.

1494.



Ostia
taken by
the Pope.

THE Pope, not to lose Time, sent *Nicolò Orfini*, Count of *Pittigliano*, to invest *Ostia*; who, with the Assistance of *Alfonso*, both by Sea and Land, got immediate Possession of the Town, and began to batter the Castle: The Governor, by the Interposition of *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Giovanni della Rovere*, Prefect of *Rome* (who was Brother to the Cardinal of St. *Piero in Vincola*) after a few Days Siege, surrender'd upon Condition the Pope should not molest with Arms, or Censures, either of the Brothers, unless they gave fresh Cause; and that *Grotta Ferrata*, that was left in the Hands of *Fabritio*, should continue in his Possession, on his paying Ten Thousand Ducats,

THE Cardinal of St. *Piero in Vincola*, in his Way to *France*, had acquainted *Lodovico*, with the Negotiations *Alfonso* was carrying on with the Fugitive *Genoese*, and had made that Enterprize appear so dangerous to the King, that he ordered instantly Two Thousand *Swiss* into *Genoa*, and sent
Three

Three Hundred Lances, to be com- A. D.
1494.
manded by *Obigni* (who was then at *Milan*) with Orders to remain there for the Safety of *Lombardy*, or proceed forwards, as Occasion should offer. To these were to be join'd, at the King's Expence, Five Hundred new levied *Italian* Men at Arms, under *Pico*, Count of the *Mirandola*, *Giovanni Francesco San Severino*, Count of *Gaiazzo*, and *Ridolfo Gonzaga*; and Five Hundred more at the Charge of *Lodovico*; who, notwithstanding, still endeavour'd to make *Alfonso* and *Piero* believe, that Nothing in Reality was intended against the Peace of *Italy*, which he would soon make evident.

WHEN any Thing is strongly affirm'd, altho' there appears great Reason to believe the contrary, yet one cannot help being a little doubtful: *Lodovico's* Assertions were not rely'd on, yet they retarded the Execution of what had been resolv'd. Both the Pope and *Piero* would readily have joined in making an Attempt on *Genoa*; but they knew, that would create
an

A. D. 1494. an immediate Rupture with *Lodovico*,
 The Pope being requested by *Alfonso* to send him his Gallies, and to unite his Forces with his in *Romagna*, agreed to the latter ; but on Condition, they should not march farther ; and refus'd the Gallies for fear of pushing *Lodovico* to despair.

THE *Florentines* were likewise requested to admit and refresh *Alfonso's* Fleet in *Livorno* : But for the same Reason, as well as because they had already made Excuses for not assisting the King of *France*, on Account of their Alliance with the *Arragonians*, 'till Necessity oblig'd them, they did not care to take any further Steps.

ALFONSO, now rightly judging he had no farther Measures to keep, sent out his Fleet under Admiral Don *Federigo* ; and put himself at the Head of his Army in *Abruzzo*, with a Design to pass into *Romagna* : But before he proceeded, he thought it necessary to have a Parley with the Pope, in order to concert proper Measures for their common Safety.

ON

ON the 13th of *July*, at the Pope's Desire, they met at *Vico-Varo*, a Town belonging to *Virginio Orsini*; where *Alexander* insisted, that the King should not advance farther himself, but remain on his own Frontiers in *Abruzzo*, with a sufficient Force to protect his own, and the Ecclesiastical State. *Alfonso's* Army, as he said, consisted of near a Hundred Squadrons of Men at Arms, computing Twenty Men to each Squadron; above Three Thousand Archers, besides the Light-Horse: That *Virginio* should remain in the Territories about *Rome*, to watch the *Colonnese*; and there should be plac'd in *Rome* Two Hundred of the Pope's Men at Arms, and Part of the King's Light-Horse: That *Ferdinando*, Duke of *Calabria*, * a young Prince of great Expectation, should go into *Romagna* with Seventy Squadrons, the best Part of the Cavalry, and most of the Ecclesiastical Forces: But these last had Orders only to act on the defensive.

GIOVANNI

* Duke of *Calabria* is the Title given to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Naples*.

A. D.

1494.

General of the *Arragonian* Forces, and Count *Pittigliano*, who had quitted the Pope's, and enter'd into the King's Service, both Officers of Experience and Renown, were appointed to accompany the Duke, and restrain his Ardour. It was thought that the Duke's Presence, if the Army advanced into *Lombardy*, would be very serviceable to the Cause, as he was doubly related to *Giovanni Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*, who had married his Sister; and the Duke of *Calabria's* Mother, *Hypopolita*, was Sister to *Galeazzo's* Father.

BUT one of the principal Concerns at this Meeting was, how to guard themselves against the *Colonnese*; who, they had Reason to think, were plotting against them. *Prospero* and *Fabritio* had been in the Service of *Ferdinando*, from whom they had obtained Principalities, and honourable Privileges. After *Ferdinando's* Death, notwithstanding the many Promises *Prospero* had made *Alfonso*, to continue in his Army, through the Means of Cardinal *Ascanio*, had engaged himself,

both

both to the Pope, and Duke of *Milan*; *A. D.*
 and now could not be prevail'd on to *1494.*
 throw up *Lodovico's* Commission, and
 remain solely in the Pope's Pay. And
Fabritio, who continu'd in *Alfonso's* Army,
 on Account of these Disputes, refused to
 accompany the Duke of *Calabria* into
Romagna, until *Alexander* and *Alfonso* were
 reconcil'd to *Prospero*, and gave proper
 Security that none of the *Colonna* Family
 should be molested in their Possessions.

THEY colour'd their Difficulties with
 these Reasons; but were, in Reality,
 influenc'd by Cardinal *Ascanio*: Who,
 jealous of the Pope's Resentment, on
Lodovico's Account, had retir'd into their
 Territories; and given them Hopes of
 greater Emoluments in the *French* Ser-
 vice; which, together with the Discon-
 tent they conceived at the superior Con-
 fidence *Alfonso* reposed in *Virginio Orsini*,
 who was at the Head of their opposite
 Faction, induced them to contract privately
 with the King of *France*. The better
 to conceal these Measures, they continu'd
 to treat with the Pope and *Alfonso*, but
 always

A. D. always raised new Difficulties to avoid
 1494 coming to any Agreement.

THE Pope's way of thinking and *Alfonso's*, on this Occasion, was different. *Alexander* was glad of the Opportunity to seize on their Castles ; and the King did not chuse to have recourse to Arms, but as the last Remedy. But he durst not presume to thwart the Pontiff's Ambition : So he agreed, at last, that if *Prospero* and *Fabritio* did not, in a few Days, accede to their Terms, to oblige them by Force. This Interview lasted for three Days, when they parted with mutual Satisfaction.


Alfonso THE Expedition of Don *Federigo* to
 begins the *Genoa*, gave Beginning to the *Italian War*.
 War by This Commander had the best Fleet, and
 sending a the best provided, that for a long Course
 Fleet a- of Years had sailed on the *Tuscan Seas*.
 gainst It consisted of Thirty-five light Gallies,
Genoa. Eighteen Ships, and a great Number of
 small Vessels ; was furnish'd with a large
 Quantity of Artillery, and had on Board
 Three Thousand Men for the Land-
 Service ;

THE WARS IN ITALY. III

Service ; amongst whom were the Fugitive Nobles of *Genoa*. A. D.
1494.

THIS Appearance gave *Alfonso* great Hopes of Success. But the Delay in setting out, occasion'd partly by the Artifices of *Lodovico*, and partly by their loitering in the Ports of *Siena*, in hopes of enlisting Five Thousand Men, together with other Difficulties, that commonly occur in putting in Motion such great Bodies, render'd ineffectual, what if attempted a Month sooner might have easily succeeded. These Delays gave Time to the *French* to throw into *Genoa* Two Thousand *Swiss*, under the Command of the Baillé of *Dijon*, to arm all the Vessels in that Port, and to send several others from their own Coast.

Lodovico also, sparing no Expence, sent Troops thither under the Command of *Gasparo di San Severino*, furnam'd *il Fracassa*, together with his Brother *Antonmaria*; and with Presents, Places, and Promises, he confirm'd in his Interest *Giovan. Luigi Fieschi*, many of the Family

A. D. 1494  mily of the *Adorni*, and several of the leading Men, who had an Influence over the Populace; and found Means to assemble, from *Genoa* and the *Rivieras*, several Abettors of the Fugitives.

The Duke of Orleans arrives in Genoa. THE same Day the *Arragonian* Fleet came in Sight of *Genoa*, the Duke of *Orleans* made his Entry into that City, sent thither by the King of *France*. His Arrival added Reputation to the Cause, and Courage to the Citizens. He first had a Conference with *Lodovico* at *Alexandria*, who paid him great Honours, and treated him as his Equal; little imagining how soon his Dominions would be subjected to his Power, and his Life to his Mercy.

Alonso's Fleet unsuccessful at Genoa. FEDERIGO, finding *Genoa* so well prepared, and seeing no Hopes of a Tumult, as had been expected, called a Council, wherein, after some Debate concerning which of the *Rivieras* they should make for, at the Desire of *Objetto*, that of the *Levant* was preferred, where he expected to find many Friends: So they sail'd to
Porto

Porto Venere, but found the *Genoese* had ^{A. D.} sent thither Four Hundred Soldiers, and ^{1494.} that *Giovanni Luigi Fieschi* was come from *Spezie*, and with his Authority kept the Inhabitants steady to the Republic: So, after several unsuccessful Assaults, they went off, and retir'd to *Livorno*, to refresh and recruit: For all the Coast of *Genoa* was so well guarded, that it would be in vain to attempt any further Enterprize without a greater Force.

DON FEDERIGO was here inform'd, that the *French* Fleet, which was superior to his in Ships, but inferior in the Number of Gallies, was setting out from the Port of *Genoa*: He, therefore, sent all his Ships to *Naples*, retaining only the Gallies; which, he thought, might save themselves with greater Ease, if they were attack'd by the whole Fleet; neither did he despair of coming off victorious, if either by the Direction of their Commander, or by some Accident, the Enemies Gallies should be separated from their Ships.

A. D.

1494.

Duke of
Calabria
in Roma-
gna.

THE Duke of *Calabria* was all this while marching into *Romagna*, but could not well proceed into *Lombardy*, without securing to his Interest the Cities of *Bologna*, *Imola*, and *Forli*. As for *Cesena*, it was subject to the Pope, and *Faenza* belong'd to young *Astorre Manfredi*, who was directed intirely by the *Florentines*, and consequently those Towns would supply the *Arragonian* Army with all Conveniencies. *Imola* and *Forli* were govern'd with the Title of Vicar of the Church by *Ottaviano Riario*, who was under the Tutelage of his Mother *Caterina Sforza*, with whom the Pope and *Alfonso* had been long treating, and promis'd to take that State under their Protection, if *Ottaviano* would enlist himself in their Service: But *Caterina* protracted the Treaty, in order to procure better Terms, and also refused to endanger her Son's Dominions, unless the *Florentines* would act in Concert with them, which they declin'd, for Fear of giving fresh Cause of Discontent to the King of *France*, who was already so much

much incens'd against them. This put *A. D.*
 the Treaty to a Stand on all Sides: For ^{1494.}
 neither *Alexander* nor *Alfonso* cared to
 engage in new expensive Appointments
 by themselves.

A CONFERENCE, which *Ferdinando*, in
 his Way to *Romagna*, had with *Piero* at
Borgo San Sepulcro, remov'd all these
 Difficulties: For the Duke, at once, in
 his Father's Name, made him a Tender
 of himself, and his whole Army, to be
 employ'd as he pleas'd, either in the De-
 fence of *Florence* or *Faenza*, or against
Siena. *Piero*, elated with these Offers,
 return'd to *Florence*, and tho' dissuaded
 by the wisest of his Countrymen, to
 please *Ferdinando*, gave the Republic's
 Consent for *Ottaviano* to enter the Al-
 lies Service, who were, in common, to
 defray the Expence, and take his Towns
 under their Protection.

BOLOGNA was arbitrarily govern'd *Bologna*
 by *Giovanni Bentivogli*, who receiving
 a Promise from the Pope, with the
 Guarantee of *Alfonso* and *Piero*, that his

A. D. Son *Antonio Galeazzo*, the Prothonotary,
 1494. should be created a Cardinal, agreed to
 serve the Allies in the same Manner.

ALL this gave great Repute to *Ferdinando's* Army, and would have given a much greater, had he been solicitous enough in getting into *Romagna*: But by the Delay of the *Arragonians*, and the Care of *Lodovico*, *Obigni*, and Count *Gajazzo*, finding no Opposition in the *Bolognese*, with incredible Celerity got with Part of the Army to the Territory of *Imola*, by the Time *Ferdinando* was arriv'd at *Cesena*; so that all Hopes of getting into *Lombardy* being frustrated, the Duke found himself necessitated to begin the War in *Romagna*, where the *French* and *Milaneſe* Forces were abundantly supply'd from that little part of the Dukedom of *Ferrara*, which lies contiguous to the *Po*: The Cities of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which were under the *Venetians*, observed a strict Neutrality.

*Piero de
 Medici de-
 clares a-
 gainſt
 France.*

PIERO not in the least dismay'd at
 the Disappointment *Alfonſo* had met with
 at

at *Genoa*, and the Impediments that prevented the March into *Lombardy*, by a secret Convention, unknown to his Republic, engag'd with *Alfonso* and *Alexander* to act against the *French*. In consequence of which, at first he contented himself with only giving Orders, that the *Neapolitan* Fleet should be permitted to anchor, and take in Provisions at *Livorno*, and recruit in any Port of the *Florentine* State: But soon exceeding all Bounds of Moderation, he caus'd *Annibale Bentivogli*, who was in the *Florentine* Service, and *Astorre Manfredi*, to join *Ferdinando's* Army with their Regiments at *Forli*, whither he also sent a Reinforcement of a Thousand Men, and some of Artillery.

THE Pope continued in the same Disposition. By a Brief, he had before entreated *Charles* not to proceed with Arms, but in a judicial Way: And now, by another Brief, he threaten'd him with Censures, if he pass'd into *Italy*: And, by means of the Bishop of *Cagliari*, his Nuntio at *Venice*, us'd all his Endeavours,

A. D. 1494. yours, in Concert with the *Neapolitan* Minister, and that of the *Florentines*, who acted somewhat more cautiously, to engage that Senate into an Alliance against *France*, or at least to declare plainly to *Lodovico*, that they were highly dissatisfy'd with the Measures he had taken.

BUT the Doge was commission'd to answer, that it was not the Part of a wise Prince to draw a War into his own Dominions, to save those of his Neighbours; and, accordingly, they acted in a Manner, that neither Party might have Reason to take Offence.

THE King of *Spain*, being press'd by the Pope and *Alfonso*, promis'd to send a Fleet, with a great Number of Troops into *Sicily*, who were after to land in the Kingdom of *Naples* for it's Defence, if it prov'd necessary. And because the King complain'd of Want of Money, to hasten the Expedition, *Alfonso* sent him a large Sum, and *Alexander* gave him Leave to employ, for this Purpose, the Money

Money he had been permitted to gather A. D. 1494.
 for the *Crusade*, which was never known
 to be made Use of, but against the In-
 fidels, who, indeed, had little Cause to fear
 at present: For *Alfonso* had before dis-
 patch'd several Messengers to *Constanti-*
nople, and sent now *Camillo Pandone*, who,
 by the Pope's Orders, was privately ac-
 company'd by *Giorgio Bucciardo*, a *Ge-*
noese, a Person who had formerly been
 employ'd on such an Errand by Pope
Innocent.

BAJAZET received them most gracious-
 ly, and soon dispatch'd them, promising
 powerful Assistance, which he after-
 wards confirm'd by an Ambassador he
 sent on purpose to *Naples*: But his Pro-
 mises were never perform'd, either be-
 cause the Distance was so great, or that
 he could not bring himself to repose
 any Confidence in Christians.

ALFONSO and *Piero*, finding that
 neither by Land or Sea they had hitherto
 met with any Success against *Lodovico*,
 resolved to try if they could deceive him

A. D. 1494. by Artifice: But their Stratagems miscarried as well as their Force.

IT was a general Opinion, that *Lodovico*, in his Heart, in regard to his own Safety, could not be desirous that *Charles* should conquer *Naples*: And it was thought, when he had brought him as far as *Tuscany*, and got himself acknowledged Duke of *Milan*, he would then interpose, and persuade the King to return into *France*, on *Alfonso's* paying him a large Yearly Tribute, and procuring, perhaps for himself, from the *Florentines*, that Part of the *Lunegiana* they possessed near his Dominions.

IN this Manner he would humble the *Florentines*, diminish the Strength and Authority of the King of *Naples*, and secure himself in the Sovereignty of the *Milanese*, without running those Risques he had Reason to fear from a conquering *French Army*.

HE hoped, that as Winter was approaching, the King might meet with such
Difficulties

Difficulties as would retard his March, so A. D.
1494.
as not be able to proceed any farther than *Florence* till Spring : And as he was apprized of the impatient Temper of the *French*, the Want of Money, and the Dislike of many of the Courtiers to this Expedition, he hoped, in the mean Time, an Accommodation might be effected.

BUT whatever were *Lodovico's* first Designs, certain it is, that he now, by Means of his Minister in *Florence*, tampered with *Piero*, and encourag'd him to persist in his Alliance with *Alfonso*, assuring him, he would then dissuade the King of *France* from coming into *Italy* : Or, if he came, he had sufficient Interest to prevail on him to return, without injuring any of the *Italian* Potentates. *Lodovico*, was either sincere, or being bent on *Piero's* Destruction, took this Method to compleat it ; leaving him no Room for a Reconciliation with the King of *France*.

PIERO gave Notice of these Negotiations to *Alfonso*, and he counsel'd him to communicate them to the King of *France* :

A. D. *France*: Wherefore *Piero*, feigning him-
 1494. self indisposed (after concealing the *French*

A Plot
 against
Lodovico.

Minister, where he might over-hear the Conference) he sent for *Lodovico's* Ambassador; then repeating distinctly what the Ambassador had before propos'd, said, It was owing to his Master, he had not accepted of the King of *France's* Offers; and grievously complaining, that he should be so earnest in solliciting the King to come into *Italy*, he concluded, That since *Lodovico's* Actions were not conformable to his Promises, he had come to a Resolution to agree with his Most Christian Majesty, and not run any farther Risque.

THE Ambassador reply'd, That he had no Reason to doubt of his Master's Sincerity; for it would prove equally dangerous to him, if he suffer'd the King of *France* to conquer *Naples*. He then entreated him not to think of abandoning *Alfonso*, for his own Fate, and that of *Italy*, depended intirely on his Steadiness.

BUT this cunning Device was not attended with the desir'd Effect: For
 some

some of the *French* Ministry having in-
form'd *Lodovico* of what had pass'd, he
became more enrag'd against *Piero*, and
pressed the King, with greater Earnestness,
to lose no Time, but to move with all his
Forces, by Land and Sea, with the utmost
Expedition.

N o w Heaven and Earth seem'd to
prognosticate grievous Calamities to *Italy*:
For all those who pretended, either by
their Profession, or by divine Revelation,
to have a Knowledge of future Events,
joined in foretelling various Revolutions,
horrible Scenes, and greater Devastations
in *Italy*, than had been known for many
Ages, in any Part of the World.

A N D with no less Terror it was re-
ported, that several Prodigies had hap-
pened; That Three Suns appeared in *Pug-*
lia, surrounded with Clouds, full of
dreadful Thunder and Lightning: That
in the Territory of *Arezzo*, Bands of
Men in heavy Armour, on huge Horses,
accompany'd with a terrible Noise of
Drums and Trumpets, had been seen to
pass

A. D.

1494.

A Report
of several
Prodigies.

A. D. 1494. *pass* through the Air: That, in several Parts, the sacred Images and Pictures had sweated: Women and Animals had produced several Monsters: And that many other Accidents, that seem'd contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature, had happened in divers Places.

King Charles at Vienne. THE Populace, who are apt to give Credit to such Stories, already alarm'd with the Apprehension of the Power and Fierceness of the *French*, were under the greatest Consternation. They were told, That History was full of the Devastations committed by them in former Times: How they had plunder'd all *Italy*, and destroy'd *Rome* with Fire and Sword: That *Asia*, and all Parts of the World, had felt the Weight of their Arms. These Fears were every Day encreased, as they expected soon to see the dire Effects of an Invasion, knowing the *French* were already on their March.

CHARLES was now come to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*; and could neither be dissuaded from going personally into *Italy*,
by

by the Intreaties of his whole Kingdom ; *A. D.*
 nor retarded by the Want of Money : *1494.*
 There not being, at that Time, a Sufficiency for the present Exigencies, without pawning, and that for no considerable Sum, the Jewels that had been sent him by the Duke of *Savoy*, the Marchesana of *Monferrato*, and some other Noblemen of his own Kingdom. All the Money of the Finances, and what *Lodovico* had lent him, had partly been expended in fitting out his Fleet (on which great Dependance had been laid) and the rest inconsiderately dissipated at *Lyons* amongst his Favourites : Nor could he, easily, procure a fresh Supply. For, in those Days, Princes were not accusom'd to extort Money from their Subjects, as they have since been taught to do, by Avarice and Ambition, without any Regard to human or divine Laws.

IN this Disorder, and on so slender a Foundation, *Charles* undertook this important War ; hurry'd on rather by Impetuosity and Rashness, than guided by Prudence and Counsel.

BUT,

A. D.

1494.

Murmurs
in the
French
Camp.

BUT, as it often happens at the Entrance upon the Execution of great and hazardous Exploits, how maturely soever projected, that Difficulties, unforeseen, are apt to arise: So now, when the Army was in Motion towards the *Alps*, a sudden Murmur spread over the Camp; some complaining of the common Difficulties, attending such an Expedition; others, of the Presidioufness of the *Italians*; and, above all, of the late Treachery of *Lodovico Sforza*; against whom they were, perhaps, the more exasperated, because they had heard a Sum of Money expected from him was not arrived: And, as is generally the Case, when the proposed Advantages of an Expedition become doubtful, those who earnestly advised it, would willingly retract: So now, the Bishop of St. *Maló*, chief Promoter, with several others, who had been most sanguine, alarmed at such unexpected Clamours, appeared undetermined. This affected the Courtiers, and the King himself, to such a Degree, that immediate Orders were given to the Army not to proceed.

The
King's Ir-
resolution.

proceed. The Rumour of which being spread, several Officers, who had already set out, returned back, supposing the War to be at an End: And, it was thought, that would have been the Case, if the Cardinal of St. *Piero in Vincola*, fatal Instrument then, before, and after, of all the Calamities of *Italy*, had not interposed, and with the Authority and Vehemence of his Speech, melted the almost frozen Spirits of the Army, and brought the King back to his former Resolution.

HE not only refreshed the King's Memory with the Motives which had induced him to engage in this Enterprize, but laid also before him the Infamy and Scorn which would arise, if so noble a Design was not carried into Execution.

“ To what Purpose, said he, has your Majesty weakened your Frontiers, by giving up the Province of *Artois*? For what Reason have you open'd a Door to the King of *Spain* to enter your Kingdom, by parting with the *Roussillon*, to the great Dissatisfaction of your People? Such

A. D.
1494.

Speech of
the Cardinal of St.
Piero in
Vincola.

A. D.

1494.

“ Such important Concessions were never
 “ made by Princes, but to free themselves
 “ from the utmost Dangers ; or with a
 “ View of getting much more than an
 “ Equivalent : Wherefore, as your Ma-
 “ jesty cannot pretend to have been in
 “ any Danger, you must appear to the
 “ World, to have purchased nothing but
 “ Shame, and that at a dear Rate. What
 “ new Difficulties have arisen ? What
 “ new Dangers have been discovered since
 “ the Publication of this Enterprize ?
 “ On the contrary, are not the Hopes
 “ of Victory considerably encreased, by
 “ the Disappointment of your Enemies in
 “ every thing they have undertaken ?
 “ For the *Arragonian* Fleet, after making
 “ a vain Attempt on *Porto Venere*, is re-
 “ tired to *Livorno*, which has secur’d the
 “ City of *Genoa* ; the Enemy having nei-
 “ ther Land nor Sea Forces sufficient to
 “ attack it : And a few of your Troops,
 “ posted in *Romagna*, have been able to
 “ prevent *Ferdinando* from advancing into
 “ *Lombardy*. What a Panick, then, must
 “ your Adversaries be seized with, when
 “ they hear you have passed the *Alps* ?
 “ What

" What Tumults will arise ? With what
 " Terror will the Pope be affected, when,
 " from his Palace, he views the Arms
 " of the *Colonnese* at the Gates of *Rome* ?
 " How confounded *Piero de Medici*, when
 " abandoned by his Relations, and by
 " the *Florentines*, who love the *French*,
 " and are desirous of recovering their
 " Liberties infringed by him ? Your
 " Majesty can meet with no sort of Op-
 " position, till you arrive on the Frontiers
 " of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Besides,
 " on your Approach, you will diffuse a
 " general Terror ; and nothing else will
 " be seen but Tumult, Flight, and
 " Rebellion. Can there be any Appre-
 " hension of a Want of Money ? None
 " surely : For as soon as the Sound of
 " your thundering Artillery is heard in
 " *Italy*, the *Italians* will strive who can
 " bring most Money : And, besides, if
 " any petty State should offer to resist,
 " the Riches which would accrue from
 " their Overthrow would be sufficient to
 " maintain the Army. For the *Italians*
 " being accustomed rather to a Shew of,
 " than a real War, are not in a Condition

A. D.

1494

“ to resist the intrepid Valour of the
 “ *French*. What sudden Fears then?
 “ What Confusion? What Dreams?
 “ What Shadows of Danger have possessed
 “ your Royal Breast? What is become
 “ of that Magnanimity which induced
 “ you, a few Days since, to assert, that
 “ you could make yourself Master of
 “ *Italy*, tho’ all the *Italian* Powers were
 “ combined against you? He desired
 “ he would consider, that Things now
 “ were gone too far for his Majesty to
 “ recede; since his Dominions were
 “ alienated, Ambassadors admitted, dis-
 “ missed, and dispatched; the Expences
 “ and Preparations made; his Intentions
 “ publick, and he come in Person so near
 “ the Foot of the *Alps*. The State of
 “ his Affairs was now such, that altho’
 “ the Expedition were to appear hazard-
 “ ous, it could not be avoided; there
 “ being no Medium, in his present Situa-
 “ tion, between Glory and Infamy,
 “ Flight and Triumph; or his being
 “ reputed the Greatest, or Lowest of
 “ Monarchs. Why, then, should he
 “ hesitate one Moment to proceed, and
 “ gather

THE WARS IN ITALY.

131

“gather the Fruits of those Victories
“already prepared for him?”

A. D.

1494

THIS was the Substance of the Cardinal's Speech, which was deliver'd more with efficacious Reasonings, and expressive Heat, than with elaborate Phrases; and it had such Effect on the King, that he would suffer no one to offer any further Objection against the War; but departed that very Day from *Vienne*, accompany'd by all the Flower of his Nobility and Officers, excepting the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was left Regent, and the Admiral, with some others, who were made Governors of the most important Provinces. The March was ordered into *Italy* by *Monginevra*, an easier Pass than that of *Monfeni*; over which of old *Hannibal*, with immense Trouble, made his Way.*

The King
marches
into *Italy*.

THE 9th of *September*, 1494, *Charles* arrived at *Asti*; bringing with him into *Italy* the Seeds of innumerable Calamities, horrible Events, and Confusions: For

The King
arrives at


K 2

from *Asti*.

* The Road to the Foot of *Monfeni* was not passable for Wheel-Carriages, till made so by a Duke of *Savoy* in the last Century.

A. D. from this Passage derived their Origin,
 1494 not only Changes of Dominions, Sub-
 version of Kingdoms, Desolation of
 Countries, Destruction of Cities, and
 cruel Slaughters; but also new Fashions,
 new Customs, new and bloody Ways of
 making War, and Diseases, unknown in
 those Days: Besides, the Foundation and
 Arts of Government, which connected
 the Union of our Princes, have been
 ever since so unhinged, that they could
 never after be reinstated; so that a Door
 was left open for barbarous Nations to
 invade and oppress us. And, that our
 Shame may not be lessen'd by the Merits
 of the Author of our Miseries, it must
 be owned, that altho' he was fortunate
 in being born Heir to so powerful a King-
 dom, yet he was no ways favoured by
 Nature either in Body or Mind.

+ CHARLES, from his Youth, was of
 Character a weak and infirm Constitution; short
 of *Charles* and ugly; had indeed some Sprightliness
 VIII, and Majesty in his Eyes; but his Limbs
 were so disproportioned, that he had rather
 the Appearance of a Monster than a Man.
 He

He was not only exceeding illiterate, but ^{A. D.} hardly knew the Names of the Letters: ^{1494.} 
 A Soul aspiring after Dominion, but no ways capable of it. He was ever imposed upon by his Courtiers; with whom he knew not how to preserve either Majesty or Authority. Indolent in every thing that required Trouble; and what he undertook was conducted with little Prudence or Judgment: If he had any thing in him commendable, it was yet farther from Virtue than Vice: For he had an Inclination to Glory, but then he acted rashly, and without Counsel. He was liberal, but profusely so, without Measure or Distinction; steady, sometimes, in his Resolutions; but more through Obstinacy than Firmness; and what was in him called Goodness, deserved rather the Name of Pusillanimity.

THE Day he arrived at *Asli*, Fortune ^{Objetto} began to shew herself propitious, and ^{Fieschi} welcomed him with a piece of good ^{occupies} ^{Rapalle.} News from *Genoa*. Don *Federigo*, after refreshing himself, and recruiting his Army at *Livorno*, landed *Objetto Fieschi*,

A. D. 1494. a fugitive *Genoese* Nobleman, with Three Thousand Foot; who, with little Difficulty, took *Rapalle*, a Town Twenty Miles distant from *Genoa*; from whence he made Excursions all over the Country.

THOSE who governed in *Genoa*, were sensible, that any, tho' ever so small an Advantage, obtained by the Enemy, might prove dangerous in that factious State; so the Brothers *San Severini*, with *Giovanni Adorni*, the Governor's Brother, were sent with the best part of the Troops against *Fiescho*, a sufficient Guard being left in *Genoa*.

The Battle of *Rapalle*. * THE Duke of *Orleans*, with a Thousand *Swiss*, embarked in the Fleet; which consisted of Eighteen Gallies, Six Galleons, and Nine large Vessels. As soon as they all met near *Rapalle*, they very briskly attacked the Enemy, who defended the Bridge in the Suburbs that leads into a small Plain, which extends itself as far as the Sea.

THE

* The Duke of *Orleans* was married to *Anne*, the King's Sister.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 135

THE rocky Country itself was as ^{A. D.} good as a strong Fortification to the *Arra-*^{1494.}
gonians; who were, besides, so advantageously posted, that the first Attack did not promise Success: For the *Swiss*, not having Room to extend themselves, began to retire; till the brave Country People, who were Friends to the *Adorni*, and knew all the Paths in those craggy Mountains, crowded in from all Quarters, and the Artillery from the Fleet beginning to take *Objetto's* Men in Flank, they were driven from the Bridge; and hearing afterwards that *Luigi Fieschi* was coming behind them with a Body of Foot, for fear of being taken between two Fires, *Objetto* was the first that ran away towards the Mountains, <sup>Flight of the *Arra-*
gonians.</sup> and his Example was followed by the rest, after losing above a Hundred Men: A great Slaughter in those Days! * Amongst the many Prisoners was *Giulio Orfini*, who was in the *Neapolitan* Service, and had followed the Army with

K 4

Forty

* *Objetto*, after being stopped and searched three times in his Flight, said facetiously to his Son, Let us strip, and be as naked as *Adam*, and then we shall pass on unmolested. The Bishop of *Nebio*.

A. D. 1494. Forty Men at Arms, and some Archers on Horseback, *Fregosino*, Son of the Cardinal *Fregoso*, and *Orlandino*, of the same Family.

THIS Victory secured *Genoa*: For Don *Federigo*, after landing the Troops, to avoid fighting with the *French* Fleet in the Gulph of *Rapalle*, put out to Sea, and retired again to *Livorno* to recruit; but was so disheartened, that he did not venture to make any farther Attempt worth notice. *Lodovico*, not without Reason, assumed to himself the Merit of this Defeat: For nothing could have saved *Genoa*, but *Federigo's* giving so much Time to prepare; and this was procured by *Lodovico's* Artifice, who fed the Enemy with vain Hopes till a Force was in Readiness to baffle their Enterprize.

Lodovico
goes to the
King at
Asti.

LODOVICO SFORZA and *Beatrice* his Wife, accompanied by many Ladies of Quality, celebrated for Beauty, came in great Pomp from different Parts of the *Milanese*, to meet the King at *Asti*; as did also *Hercole*, Duke of *Ferrara*.

AFTER

AFTER some Conferences, it was resolved, without Loss of Time, to march forward with the Army ; which, without reckoning the Two Hundred Gentlemen of the King's Guard, consisted (as well as I can compute from the different Accounts) of Sixteen Hundred Lances : That Name being given by the *French* to their Men in heavy Armour ; who, according to the *French* Custom, were attended each by Two Archers, and Four Horsemen ; that is to say, Six Horses to each Lance ; Six Thousand *Swiss*, and Six Thousand *French* ; the Half of whom were *Gascons*, reckoned then the best Infantry in *France*. In this Number were comprehended the *Swiss* sent to *Genoa* with the Bailiff of *Dijon*, and those with *Obigni* in *Romagna*.

As the hard Season was coming on, *Lodovico*, fearing the King might Winter in his Dominions, advanced him more Money, of which he was in great need, to enable him to proceed on his March : But *Charles* was suddenly taken with the Small Pox, which prov'd not
malig-

A. D. malignant; but detain'd him a whole
 1494. Month at *Asti*; during which Time, the
 Army was quartered in the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

The
 French
 Artillery.

AT *Genoa*, in the mean Time, arriv-
 ed from *Marfeilles*, a great Quantity of
 Field Pieces and battering Cannon, such
 as in *Italy* had never hitherto been seen.
 This Plague had its Origin in *Ger-
 many*, and with great Labour was brought
 from thence by the *Venetians*, about the
 Year 1380, and made use of against the
Genoese; whose Maritime Power was
 formidable in those Days; when the
Venetians were beat, and so dejected
 for the Loss of *Chioggia*, that if the
Genoese had not let slip their Oppor-
 tunity, they might have given them
 hard Conditions: The largest Pieces of
 the Artillery we are speaking of, were
 called Bombarde, some whereof were
 Iron, some Brass.

FROM that Time they were spread
 through *Italy*, and made use of in Sieges:
 But for their Size and aukward Make,
 were

were mov'd from Place to Place with great Difficulty; and for the same Reason were very unhandy when placed against the Walls of a Town: The Intervals between the Firings were so long, that a great deal of Time was lost, which gave leisure to the Besieged to repair the Breaches. But notwithstanding all these Impediments, the Violence of the Powder was such, that the Balls of these Instruments flew with a thundering Noise, and did greater Execution than any Engines, till that Time invented by *Archimedes*, or any of the Antients.

A. D.

1494.

BUT now the *French* brought a much handier Engine, made of Brass, called Cannon, which they charg'd with heavy Iron Balls, much larger than those of Stone, made use of heretofore, and drove them with Horses, not with Oxen, so as to keep Pace with the Army. These were planted against the Walls of a Town, with great Ease and Speed; the Space between the Shots was so little, and the Ball was impell'd with such Force, that as much was done in few Hours,

A. D.

1494.

Hours, as formerly in the like Number of Days. These, rather Diabolical than Human Instruments, were used, not only in Sieges, but also in the Field, and were mixed with others of a smaller Size. This Artillery render'd *Charles's* Army, already formidable for the Number and Valour of its Troops, dreadful to all *Italy*.

THE *Gens d'Armes* * were almost all Subjects of *France*, and not of the mean sort, but Gentlemen, and were not enlisted or dismissed, nor paid by any Commanding Officer, but by the Ministry: Their Companies were compleat; themselves, their Arms, and their Horses, all in good Order; to effect which their Income was sufficient. They served cheerfully, and with Emulation; inspired not only by their Birth, but also through a natural and laudable Motive of being promoted, till their Merit by Degrees, procured them the Command of a Company.

THE

* The Historian sometimes calls the Lances *Gens d'Armes*.

THE Officers of the Lances, who were all Barons, Nobles, or at least Gentlemen, were also mostly Subjects of *France*, and had the same Incitement to Glory. When any one of them was at the Head of a Hundred Lances, (no Captain being allowed to command above that Number) he was at the Height of his Wishes, and all he had then to do, was to behave in such a manner, as to merit his Prince's Approbation: He lay under no Temptation to go into other Services, either to gratify Ambition or Avarice, and was free from all Disgust or Rancour, which commonly affect those who think their Deserts are not sufficiently rewarded.

THE *Italian* Men at Arms were quite the Reverse: Their Men being a Mixture of Peasants, People in low Life, and Subjects of different Potentates; were intirely dependant on their Officers, with whom they agreed for a Salary, and in whose Power it was to retain or dismiss them, and generally were Persons

A. D. fons that had neither natural nor acquir'd
 1494. Parts to enable them to act gallantly.

THEIR Officers were seldom Subjects of the Prince they served, but had often a different Interest, and separate Views, were full of Piques and Jealousies; their Service not commonly limited to a certain Time, and being intirely Masters of their own Companies, they seldom kept them compleat, but defrauded their Masters of their Money: They were not satisfied with what was just, but took all Occasions to impose upon them by exorbitant Accounts: They were never long settled; when tir'd with one Service they passed into another, and tempted by Ambition or Avarice, were often treacherous.

NOR was their less Difference between the *French* and *Italian* Infantry: For these were not used to fight in Squadrons, but being dispersed in the open Country, on any Danger of an Attack, they commonly retired to the Banks of Rivers, and behind Ditches.

BUT

BUT the *Swiss*, a warlike Nation, who by long Experience, and by gaining many Battles have renewed the antient Valour, range themselves in Lines at proper Distances from one another, and, without breaking them, appear before the Enemy like an impregnable Wall, whenever there is Room enough to present themselves before them with their extended Squadrons. The *French* and *Gascons* observe the same Discipline, tho' not equal in Bravery to the *Swiss*.

WHILST the King lay sick at *Asti*, fresh Disturbances arose in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. For tho' *Alfonso* had yielded to all the immoderate Demands of the *Colonnese*; yet no sooner had *Obigni* entered *Romagna*, than *Prospero* and *Fabritio* pulled of the Mask, declared themselves Soldiers of the King of *France*, and, after corrupting some of the Garrison, got Possession of the Citadel of *Ostia*.

THE Pope took this Opportunity to complain


A. D.

1494

complain to most of the Christian Potentates, especially to the King of *Spain*, and Senate of *Venice*; but these last refused him even the Succours they had stipulated to send the preceeding Year: He cited *Prospero* and *Fabritio* to come to *Rome*; and on their Refusal, ordered their Palaces to be razed; then, joining his Troops with those *Alfonso* had under *Virginio* at the *Teverone* near *Tivoli*, he ordered them to invade the Territories of the *Colonnese*, who had not above Two Hundred Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot. And on a Report of the *French* Fleet's sailing from *Genoa* in order to succour *Ostia*, he and *Alfonso* sent all the Forces they could muster, to besiege *Nettuno*, and prevent the Fleet sheltering in that Harbour.

BUT the Garrison made a brave Defence, and gave Time to *Camillo Vitelli*, of *Citta di Castello*, who, with his Brothers, had lately entered into the *French* Service, to come to their Assistance; which put the Pope under a Necessity of recalling Part of his Troops out of *Roma*

magna

magna, where *Ferdinando's* Affairs did not *A. D.*
 seem to be in so happy a Situation as at *1494.*
 the Beginning. 

ON the Duke of *Calabria's* arrival at *Imola*, the Enemy, that was encamped at *Villa Franca*, finding they were inferior to the *Arragonians*, moved from thence, and placed themselves between the Wood of *Luga* and *Columbara*, near the *Fossato* of *Genivolo*, which is by Nature a strong Situation, belonging to the Duke of *Ferrara*, from whose Country they were supplied with Provisions.

FERDINANDO, judging it too hazardous to attack them in that Encampment, went to *Toscanello*, near *Castello San Piero*, in the *Bolognese*, in Hopes of drawing them out of their Entrenchment, by making them think he was gone for *Bologna*; but instead of following them, they went towards *Imola*, and encamped on the River *Santerno*, between *Lugo* and *St. Agata*, with the *Pô* in their Rear, which rendered the Encampment very strong.

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FERDINANDO came the next Day to *Mordano* and *Bubano*, within Six Miles of their Camp; and the Day following, he approached within One Mile of them, in Order of Battle; but after waiting some Hours in a wide Plain, very proper for an Engagement, and finding the Enemy would not accept of the Challenge, he did not venture to attack them, and marched to *Barbiano*, a Village of *Cottignola*, that flanked the Enemy, who were more indebted for their Safety to their Entrenchments, than to the Valour of their Arms.

HITHERTO, the Duke of *Calabria* seemed to have the Advantage: For the Enemy had refused to fight, and in some Skirmishes the *Arragonians* had rather the Superiority; but the *French* and the *Sforzesk* Army encreasing daily by the Arrival of the Stragglers, who had lagged behind, the Face of Affairs was altered, and the Duke's Ardour was restrained by his Governors, who would not permit him to fight with so much Disadvantage:
So

So he retired to St. *Agata*, in the *Ferrarese*, and entrenched himself, for his Foot diminished; and by the Detachment the Pope had made, his whole Army was much lessened. But on hearing that Two Hundred Lances, and a Thousand *Swiss* (who had been sent by the King, as soon as he came to *Asti*) were on the Road, and ready to join the Army, he decamped, and fortified himself in the *Circa* of *Faenza*, which lies between the Walls of the Town, and a wide Ditch about a Mile distant, which almost surrounds the *Circa*, and makes that Situation very strong. He was no sooner retired from St. *Agata*, than the Enemy came, and encamped on the same Spot the *Arragonians* had quitted.

BOTH Armies in their turn shewed Resolution; but this was when one thought the other inferior; but now their Forces were near equal, neither cared to engage; so that, what rarely happens, the same Conduct pleased both Sides: The *French* thought they had gained their Ends, if they prevented the

A. D. *Neapolitans*, from advancing into *Lombardy*; and *Alfonso* thought it no small Advantage, if he retarded the *French* all the Winter from entering his Kingdom; and therefore gave positive Orders to his Son, *Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzi*, and Count *Pittigliano*, not to trust to Fortune the Fate of *Naples*, nor in any case to give Battle, without a moral Certainty of Success, for if that Army should be defeated, the Kingdom would be irreparably lost.

BUT all *Alfonso's* Precaution could not secure him; for *Charles's* fiery Temper was not to be restrained by Seasons or Difficulties. As soon as his Strength permitted, he marched his Army, and came to *Pavia*, and lodged in the Castle where *Giovanni*, Duke of *Milan*, lay dangerously ill. The King made him a friendly Visit: *Galeazzo* was his Cousin-german, they being the Sons of two Sisters, Daughters of *Lewis* the Second, Duke of *Savoy*.

As *Lodovico* was present, the Conversation

fation was general: *Charles* expressed his *A. D.*
 Sorrow for his bad State of Health, and *1494.*
 wished him a speedy Recovery; but
 every one perceived the inward Com-
 passion his Majesty and his Attendants
 had for him; and they imagined, that
 he suspected as well as they, that *Gale-*
azzo would soon fall a Sacrifice to *Lodo-*
vico's Ambition; and they were the more
 confirmed in this Notion, when *Isabella*,
 the Duke's Wife, anxious not only for
 her Husband, but also for her Infant
 Son, and for her Father's Kingdom,
 threw herself at the King's Feet, and
 with a Flood of Tears begged, he would
 have Compassion on her Father and Fa-
 mily. *Charles* was moved with her
 Youth and Beauty, but answered, That
 as Things were gone so far, he was
 obliged in Honour to proceed. Nor,
 indeed, was it to be expected, that so
 grand an Expedition should be inter-
 rupted in Compassion to a Lady in
 Distress.

FROM *Pavia*, the King went to *Pia-*
cenza, where he received the News of

A. D. *Giovanni Galeazzo's Death. Lodovico,*

1494.

who had accompanied him thither, returned immediately to *Milan*, and assembled the Ducal Council, when the leading Men, at his Instigation, asserted, that in such perilous Times, it would be very improper, that the Son of *Galeazzo*, who was but Five Years old, should succeed his Father: That it was requisite to have a Duke of consummate Wisdom, and great Authority; and therefore necessary for the public Safety to dispense with the Disposition of the Law; and the Laws themselves did permit, nay oblige *Lodovico* to agree, that for the universal Benefit, the Ducal Dignity, which in the present Situation of Affairs could be only a Burden, should be transferred to him.

LODOVICO at first made some faint Resistance; but Honesty soon gave way to Ambition, and the next Morning he assumed the Titles and Ensigns of the Dukes of *Milan*; but in a formal Manner declared to those about him, he did not take the Government upon him

as a Gift of the People, but as his own A. D.
1494.
Right, by Virtue of the Investiture he
had received from the King of the Ro-
mans.

CARE was taken to give out, that the Death of *Galeazzo*, had proceeded from an immoderate Use of the matrimonial Bed: It was however universally believed, that neither Infirmary, nor Intemperance, but Poison was the Cause. And *Theodore* of *Pavia*, one of the Royal Physicians, who was present when the King made the Visit, affirmed, that he had observed manifest Symptoms of Poison: And if that was the Case, no one doubted, but *Lodovico* was the Author; who, not content with the sole Authority of governing, was ambitious in procuring Titles and Dominions for himself, and securing the Succession to his Children; which could not be compassed without the Death of the legitimate Prince.

IN perpetrating this Cruelty, he must have acted in contradiction to his Tem-

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per, which was naturally compassion-
ate; nor was it known he ever had
delighted in Blood. It was the com-
mon Opinion, that he had meditated
this horrid Deed from the Time he in-
vited the *French* into *Italy*; being per-
suaded, that whilst the King was with
such a numerous Army in the State of
Milan, none would venture to revenge
their Prince's untimely End.

OTHERS thought it a sudden Reso-
lution, for fear the King, (as the *French*
are quick in their Counsels) should at
once free *Giovanni Galeazzo* from the
Subjection to his Uncle, and give
him the Command, moved by Consan-
guinity or Compassion, or thinking it
was more his Interest that the Duke-
dom should be governed by his Cousin;
especially as *Lodovico's* Fidelity was much
suspected by the *French*. But *Lodovico's*
procuring the Year before the Investi-
ture, and earnestly solliciting for the Im-
perial Privileges, argues rather a preme-
ditated Design, than any sudden Ap-
prehension of his present Danger.

CHARLES

CHARLES staid some Days at *Piacenza*, not without some Thoughts of re-passing the Mountains: The want of Money, and the Backwardness of the *Italians* in joining him, made him doubtful of Success, to which his Suspicion of the new Duke did not a little contribute; fearing, that notwithstanding all his Promises, he would not return. Nor was it unlikely, as the use of Poison (so frequent in many parts of *Italy*) was almost unknown to the Nations beyond the Mountains, that *Charles* and all his Court, besides their Jealousy of *Lodovico's* Infidelity, could not hear his Name mention'd without Horror, and that the King thought himself very much injured, that he should have made use of his Arrival, as a Protection to perpetrate with Impunity so detestable a Murder.

HOWEVER, it was at last resolved to proceed; *Lodovico* continually pressing, and promising to return to the King in a few Days, as he really intended: For
it

A. D. it did not answer his purpose, that the
 1494. *French* should remain in *Lombardy*, or
 return suddenly into *France*.

LORENZO and *Giovanni de Medici*, (who stole away from their Country Houses) where, as was said before, they were confined, presented themselves to the King the Day he left *Piacenza*, desiring he would march towards *Florence*, where he might be sure of finding the People compliant, as well from their natural Attachment to the House of *France*, as from their Hatred to *Piero de Medici*; against whom, for new Reasons, the King's Anger was very much encreased: For from *Asti* he had sent an Ambassador to the *Florentines*, with offers of great Advantages, if they would grant him a Passage through their Dominions, and abstain from assisting *Alfonso*; with the Threats of his Vengeance, in case of a Refusal.

IN order to gain Time he was answered, That the principal Citizens were at their Country-Houses, as usual in
 that

that Season, and therefore they could not ^{A. D.} come to a Resolution; but that by an ^{1494.} Ambassador, whom they would soon send on purpose, his Majesty should be acquainted with their Intentions.

IN the Royal Council, the direct Road thro' *Tuscany* into the Kingdom of *Naples* was preferred to that thro' *Romagna*, and over the River *Fronto* into *Abruzzo*; not that they dreaded the Opposition which would be made by the *Arragonians*, who could hardly defend themselves against *Obigni*; but because it seem'd beneath the Greatness of so mighty a King, and the Glory of his Arms, that since the *Florentines* and the Pope had declared against him, he should give Occasion for People to think he avoided that Rout out of Fear.

IT was also thought dangerous to begin the War in the Kingdom of *Naples*, with two such powerful Enemies behind them. The Way through *Tuscany* was then agreed on over the *Apennine* of *Parma*, tho' that over the
Moun-

A. D. Mountain of *Bologna* was the nearest:

1494.

This was done to gratify *Lodovico*, who was bent on making himself Master of *Pisa*, and had pressed this Rout from their first setting out from *Asti*.

THE Van was conducted by *Gilberto Monsignor di Monpensier*, of the *Bourbon* Family, a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*. The King followed with the Remainder of the Army, and passed by *Pontremoli*, which belonged to the Duke-
dom of *Milan*, and lies at the Foot of the *Appenine*, on the River *Magra*, which divides the Country of *Genoa*, antiently called *Liguria*, from *Tuscany*.

FROM *Pontremoli* *Monpensier* entered the *Lunigiana*; part whereof belongs to the *Florentines*, some Castles to the *Genoesè*, and the rest to the Marquisses *Malespina*; who enjoy their little Dominions, some under the Protection of the Dukes of *Milan*, others under that of the *Genoesè*, or *Florentines*. Here *Monpensier* was joined by the *Swiss*, who were returned from the Defence of *Genoa*; and he found at
Spezie

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Spezie the Artillery that was brought
thither by Sea.

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1494.

GABRIELLO MELASPINA, Marquis of *Fosdinovo*, accompanied *Monpensier* to *Fivizzano*, which he took by Assault: The Town was plundered; and the Garrison, with many of the Inhabitants, were put to the Sword.

THIS manner of fighting was quite new to the *Italians*, and filled them with Amazement and Terror: They had been long accustomed to see their Wars carried on with Pomp and Magnificence; which gave their Armies rather an Appearance of Grandeur, than of Terror and Danger.

THE *Florentines* had resolved to make their principal Resistance in *Sarzana*, a small City well fortified, but not provided sufficiently against so powerful an Enemy as was necessary: Neither had they placed there a Commander of Note, or provided a sufficient Garrison; and that was already greatly discouraged and alarmed
at

A. D.

1494.

at the Approach of so powerful an Army ;
 Yet it was thought the Town would not
 be easily taken, especially the Citadel ;
 nor *Sarzanello*, a Fort well supplied, and
 situated on the Mountain of *Sarzana* :
 For the Army could not stay long in that
 desolate Country, pent up between the
 Sea and the Mountains, they had little
 Provisions, and the Places were distant
 from whence they might be timely pro-
 cured.

THIS had an Appearance of distressing
 the King's Affairs : For tho' he might
 leave *Sarzana* behind, and assault *Pisa*,
 or go to *Lucca*, where the Government,
 by the Duke of *Milan's* Interest, had
 privately agreed to receive him : Yet
Charles could not bear the Thoughts of
 leaving behind him the first fortified Town
 that opposed him : He thought his Reputa-
 tion would be so much diminished, as to
 encourage a Resistance wherever he came.
 But by good Fortune, or by the Direction
 of Divine Providence (if the Imprudence
 and Faults of Men deserve such Excuses)

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a sudden unexpected Accident made the King easy on that Score.

A. D.

1494.

PIERO DE MEDICI had no more Fortitude in Adversity, than Moderation in Prosperity. The *Florentines* were every Day more and more apprehensive of the Mischiefs arising from their Refusal to comply with the King. A fresh Edict had been issued, commanding all their Merchants to quit his Kingdom: And it is incredible what Numbers had joined the *French* as soon as they began to pass the *Appennine*. This, together with the Massacre at *Fivizzano*, occasioned an open Murmur against *Piero de Medici*; who trusting more to himself and the Counsels of rash Ministers (bold in Time of Peace, but dejected and useless in Time of Danger) than to trusty, experienced Citizens, ever Friends to his Family, had without any Necessity drawn upon them the Arms of a powerful King, become more so by the Assistance of the Duke of *Milan*.

THEY had the greater Reason to be

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A. D. 1494. alarmed, because *Piero* was quite ignorant of military Affairs; their Capital and State not fortified; and so unprovided with Soldiers and Ammunition, that they were in no Condition to defend themselves against so formidable an Enemy. Nor did it appear that any of the *Arragonians*; for whom they had exposed themselves to so much Danger, were engaged, except the Duke of *Calabria* against a small Body of *French* in *Romagna*: That in consequence, their abandoned City was left exposed to the Rage and Vengeance of a Prince, who had taken so much Pains not to be under a Necessity of doing them hurt.

MANY noble Citizens, who disliked the present Government, and could not bear that one Family should assume the sole Direction of Affairs, took Advantage from these Circumstances to inflame the Minds of those who were already ill-disposed; and by encreasing the Fears of the Timorous, and encouraging those who were fond of Alterations, they exasperated them to such a degree, that
it

it was expected the City would soon revolt. A. D.
1494

PIERO's ill Conduct contributed to this Discontent; for he did not treat the Citizens with that Mildness and good Manners so peculiar to his Ancestors; and was on that account, from his Youth, become odious in general to the People. *Lorenzo*, his Father, who had studied his Temper, was often known to have complained to his Confidants, that he foresaw the Imprudence and Arrogance of his Son, would occasion the Ruin of his Family.

PIERO, terrified at the Danger he had so rashly despised, and finding he could have no Assistance from the Pope and *Alfonso*, who were grieved for the Loss of *Ostia*, and whose Thoughts were employed on the Siege of *Nettuno*, and in providing against the *French*, took a sudden Resolution to seek amongst his Enemies that Safety, he feared was not to be found amongst his Friends.

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A. D.

1494

HE had indeed his Father's Example before him ; who in the Year 1479, being reduced to great Straits, in the War he was engaged in with Pope *Sixtus* and *Ferdinando*, went to *Naples*, and brought back Peace to his Country, and Safety to himself.

BUT it is dangerous to follow Examples, if they do not correspond in the most material Circumstances with the present State of our Affairs ; are not conducted with equal Judgment, or attended with the like Prospect of Success.

PIERO having left *Florence*, had immediate Notice, that the Horse of *Paolo Orsini*, and Three Hundred Foot, sent to reinforce the Garrison of *Sarzana*, had been intirely routed by a Party of the *French*, who had passed the *Magra*, and the greater Part of them killed or taken Prisoners. 'Till he could procure a Pass, he stopped at *Pietra Santa*, whither the Bishop of *St. Maló*, and other Courtiers resorted, and conducted him to the King,

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King, who that Day had joined his Van, A. D. 1494.
and lay with his whole Army before *Sarzanello*, with little Hopes of taking it.

PIERO, who knew the King's Heart was not so favourable towards him as the Appearance of his Countenance, soon found Means to mitigate his Indignation, and make ample amends for his former Conduct, by submitting at once to all his unreasonable Demands: He agreed that *Sarzana*, *Sarzanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, which were the Keys of the *Florentine* Dominions, with the Citadels of *Pisa* and *Livorno*, Places of great Importance to the State, should be delivered to the King, who signed an Agreement to restore them, when he should be possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

PIERO moreover engaged, that the *Florentines* should lend the King Two Hundred Thousand Ducats; after which, they were to be admitted into his Confederacy, and be under his Protection; what related to the Money, was to be

A. D. 1494. ratified at *Florence* when *Charles* came thither. But *Sarzana*, *Sarzanello*, and *Pietra Santa* were immediately put into his Hands, as were a few Days after the Citadels of *Pisa* and *Livorno*. The *French* themselves were amazed at *Piero's* Compliance; for they would have been contented with easier Terms, had he shewn the least Resolution.

IT may not be improper to relate here, how *Piero* told *Lodovico*, who arrived the next Day, that he had been out to meet him, but unfortunately missed him, because, as he supposed, he had taken a wrong Road: *Lodovico* answered facetiously, it is certain that one of us mistook, but I believe it was you, alluding to his neglecting the Counsels of his good Friends: But we shall find in the Sequel, that *Lodovico* was most in the wrong, and as he was in a higher Station, and pretended to direct others in political Affairs, his Error was attended with greater Misfortunes and Infamy.

PIERO'S Compliance not only secured
Tuscany

Tuscany to the King, but also removed A. D.
all Obstacles in *Romagna*, where the 1494
Arragonians were already declining :
For as it is difficult for those, who can
hardly defend themselves, to provide for
the Security of others, so *Alfonso* being
left unsupported, was not able to resist so
great a Force.

FERDINANDO thought himself secure in the strong Lines of the *Cerca* of *Faenza*, where he had retired with his Army, which was surrounded, as before observed, by a deep Ditch. The Enemy, not willing to attack them at so great a Disadvantage, returned towards *Imola*, and tried in vain to possess themselves of the Castle of *Bubano*; but as it was of a small Circumference, the few in Garrison were sufficient to defend it: So retiring from thence, they advanced to *Mordano*, which was a strong and well provided Fortrefs, and lying low, the Country about it was over-flowed. But the violent Force of the Artillery, and the Bravery of the *French* in the Attack was such, that without being dis-

A. D. 1494. may'd at the Sight of many of their Companions, who were drowned in passing the Ditches, they took it by Assault, and exercised so much Cruelty in putting to Death both Women and Children, that they filled all *Romagna* with Horror. *Caterina Sforza* was so alarmed, that despairing of Succours, and to avoid the present Danger, she capitulated with the *French*, promising them all Conve-
niencies in the States belonging to her Son.

WHEREFORE *Ferdinando*, suspecting the Faith of the *Faventines*, and thinking it very dangerous to remain between *Imola* and *Forli*, especially as he was apprised of *Piero's* Journey to *Sarzana*, retired to the Walls of *Cesena*, shewing great Marks of Fear in his March: For to avoid passing by *Forli*, he conducted the Army a round about Way over Hills, by *Castro Caro*, a Fort of the *Florentines*. A few Days after the News came that *Piero* had made a Treaty with the *French*, on which the Troops of that Republic immediately withdrew,
and

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and *Ferdinando* directed his March *A. D.*
towards *Rome*. 1494.

AT the same Time Don *Federigo*, leaving *Livorno*, retired with the Fleet towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, where *Alfonso* began to find it very necessary, for the Defence of his own Kingdom, to recall those Forces he had sent with such great Hopes to attack other Princes Dominions: But his Affairs began to take as bad a Turn nearer Home; for he miscarried in his Enterprize at *Nettuno*, and had brought his Army to *Terracina*, at the same Time that the *French* Fleet, commanded by the Prince of *Salerno*, and Monsignor *Serenon* appeared before *Ostia*: But they gave out they had no Orders to attack the Pope's Territories, and therefore landed no Men, notwithstanding that *Charles* a few Days before had refused to admit to his Audience Cardinal *Piccolomini* sent to him as Legate.

WHEN the News of *Piero's* Concessions to the *French* arrived in *Florence*, every Breast was fired with Indignation to

A. D. 1494. see the Power of the Republic so diminished, and its Reputation exposed by the unparallel'd Insolence of a single Man, who, without the Decree and Authority of the Magistrate, had alienated such valuable Possessions of the *Florentine* Dominions. Nothing but Complaints and Murmurs were heard from the Citizens, who seemed resolved to run any Risk for the Recovery of their Liberty ; whilst *Piero's* Adherents, struck with Terror, did not so much as dare to offer any Thing in his Defence.

THE Republic was not able to defend *Pisa* and *Livorno* ; nor had they the least Prospect of persuading the King to make any Alterations in the Treaty : Yet to separate the Counsels of the Government from those of *Piero*, they immediately sent Ambassadors to his Majesty, chusing the most disaffected to the Grandeur of the *Medici*. *Piero* being informed of what passed in *Florence*, and also apprehensive of some sudden Revolution, took leave of the King, under

der a Pretence of seeing executed what A. D.
he had agreed to. 1494.

AT the same Time, that *Charles* moved from *Sarzana* towards *Pisa*, *Lodovico* returned to *Milan*, having first, with a Sum of Money, obtained the Investiture of *Genoa* for himself and Descendants, tho' it had been lately granted to *Giovanni Galeazzo* and his Heirs : Notwithstanding which, he departed dissatisfied, because the King had refused, contrary to his former Promise, to let him put a Garrison of his own in *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana*, which he pretended belonged to *Genoa*, and had been unjustly seized by the *Florentines* a few Years before ; besides, he thought this Denial obstructed him in his settled Resolution of becoming Master of *Pisa*,

As soon as *Piero* arrived at *Florence*, he found the Minds of most of the Magistrates exasperated against him, and even a Coldness in his best Friends ; angry, no doubt, that he had transacted
Matters

A. D. Matters of the utmost Consequence
 1494 without their Participation.

THE Citizens, in general, were highly incensed, and the next Day, the 9th of *November*, as he was going into the Palace where the Supreme Magistrate resided, he was ordered by *Jacopo Nerli*, a noble and wealthy Youth, who with some others of the Magistracy stood armed at the Gates, not to enter.

THIS Report being spread all over the Town, the Populace in an Instant took up Arms, and were the more enraged upon hearing, that, at *Piero's* Instance, *Paolo Orsini* was coming with his Men at Arms to his Assistance.

PIERO, finding he could not get Admittance into the Palace, returned to his own House, where being informed that the Magistrate had declared him a Rebel, he flew with Precipitation to *Bologna*, whither he was followed by his two Brothers, *Giovanni* the Cardinal, and *Giuliano*, who were also attainted.

GIOVANNI BENTIVOGLI, who governed *Bologna*, expecting to find in others that Constancy of Mind, which he was not afterwards Master of himself in his Adversities, at the Sight of *Piero*, reproached him bitterly for his Cowardice ; upbraiding him with the bad Example he gave to others, who had attained to the supreme Command in their Country, by retiring so shamefully, and relinquishing so much Power and Authority, without striking a Blow.

THUS, thro' the Rashness of an inconsiderate Youth, the Family of the *Medici* fell for the present from a Power they had exercised in *Florence*, almost in a Sovereign Manner, for Sixty Years successively. A Power first exercised by *Cosmo*, *Piero's* Great Grand-Father, a Citizen of singular Prudence, and immense Riches ; for which he was renowned in all Parts of *Europe*, but more so for his Magnificence, Liberality, and Greatness of Soul : For as he had more at Heart the immortalizing his Name, than

A.D.

1494.

than providing for his Descendants, he expended above Four Hundred Thousand Ducats in building Churches, Monastries, and other sumptuous Edifices, not only in his own Country, but in many other parts of the World.

HIS Grand-Son *Lorenzo*, a Man of excellent Abilities, and a great Statesman, was not less generous, tho' not so rich; and had a more absolute Power, tho' of a shorter Duration: The *Italians*, in general, and several foreign Princes, paid a great regard to the Wisdom of his Counsels, the want of which more clearly appeared soon after his Death, for with him all Friendship and Concord in *Italy* seemed to expire.

THE same Day the Change of Government was made in *Florence*, the *Pisans* assembled in a tumultuous Manner, and supported by some of the Courtiers, begged the King would restore them to their Liberty, which had been usurped by the *Florentines*, under whose cruel Treatment,

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ment, and arrogant Dominion they had long groaned. A. D. 1494.

THE King, not weighing the Importance of this Request, but following the Advice of some of his Council, answered, contrary to his Agreement at *Sarzana*, that they should be redressed. On which the People immediately took up Arms, pulled down all the *Florentine* Standards, and cried out, *Liberty!* The King hardly knowing what he had promised, ordered the *Florentine* Magistrates to remain, and exercise their Functions, and at the same Time gave the old Castle to the Custody of the *Pisans*, but kept for himself the new Citadel of much more Importance.

THESE Events at *Florence* and *Pisa* confirm the Proverb, "That Men, " when their ill Fate approaches, lose " that Prudence which would have " enabled them to surmount their Mis- " fortunes." The *Florentines*, always distrustful of the Faith of the *Pisans*, altho' they had reason to expect this Revolution, did not summon, as usual
on

A. D.

1494

on less Occasions, the leading Men of *Pisa* to come to *Florence*; nor did *Piero de Medici* fortify the Market Place and the Palace with foreign Guards, which would have been a great Check to the Revolt: This Rising was fomented by *Lodovico*, who had carried on private Intelligence with some banished *Pisans*, in order to bring it about: And *Galeazzo San Severino*, his Minister, who accompanied the King, by inflaming the People was the principal Occasion of a Rebellion, which *Lodovico* expected would soon reduce that City to his Obedience; little thinking, in how short a Time after, this Revolution would prove the Occasion of all his Miseries.

IT is likewise known, that some of the *Pisans* communicating the Night before their Intentions to the Cardinal of *San Piero in Vincola*, he, who, perhaps, never before had been the Author of pacific Counsels, very gravely told them, they ought not to be carried away with a superficial notion of Things, but should maturely weigh the Consequences
their

their Revolt might produce: He observed to them that Liberty was precious, and much to be coveted, nay at all Events to be procured, when there was an Appearance of obtaining it: But that *Pisa*, a City depopulated and poor, was not in a Condition to defend itself against the superior Force of the *Florentines*: That it was a very fallacious way of reasoning to think the Authority of the *French* King would be sufficient to preserve them: For allowing the *Florentine* Money to be less prevailing than it was; yet the Articles of *Sarzana* were so much in the King's Favour, that he could not continue to assist them for any Time: Besides, the *French* were not always to be in *Italy*, and if from passed Events we may conjecture the future, it would be very imprudent to hazard being exposed to continual Dangers, without a Prospect of continual Resources to oppose them, and with uncertain Hopes to enter into a certain War, with a more powerful Neighbour, without being able to promise themselves a real Appearance of Success;

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cess; they must besides be obliged to depend for Succours on the Will of others, who, upon many Accidents to which human Affairs are liable, might alter their good Intentions towards them: And should they even succour them, this would not avert the Calamities of a War, but rather encrease them: They would be plundered both by Enemies and Friends; for these last would consider, that they did not fight for their own, but for other People's Liberty: They might be absolutely certain, that as soon as they were freed from the Yoke of the *Florentines*, they must become subject to the Deliverer: For no Prince would think them of sufficient Consequence to be at the Expence of a War on their Account, unless from a View of reducing them to a State of Vassalage, and then the Change in their Situation would be no more than an Exchange of Masters. During this Confusion, *Charles* departed from *Pisa* towards *Florence*, not well determined in himself how to act with the *Pisans*. He halted at *Signa*, seven Miles from
Florence,

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Florence, to give Time to the *Florentines* A. D. 1494.
to lay down the Arms they had taken
up on *Piero's* Account, and to *Obigni*
to come and join him, that he might
enter *Florence* with greater Terror: He
had ordered him for the greater Expedi-
tion, to leave behind the Artillery at
Castro Caro, to dismiss the Five Hundred
Italian Men at Arms, which were in
his Pay in *Romagna*, and also those of
the Duke of *Milan*; so that of *Sforza's*
Men, the King was followed only by
Count *Gajazzo*, and Three Hundred
Light Horfe.

By many Indications it was conjectured, that the King's Intention was to induce the *Florentines* through Fear to yield him the absolute Power of their City; nor could he sufficiently disguise this Design to their Ambassadors, who several times resorted to him at *Signa*, to settle the manner of his Entry, and to give a finishing hand to the Treaty in Agitation.

CHARLES was, no doubt, greatly
N irritated

A. D. irritated against them, and resented the

1494.

Opposition made him, tho' it was plain they had no hand in it, as was manifest by their Conduct towards *Piero*: But his Ministers, as was imagined, thought it would be an Error in Politics to lose the Opportunity of seizing on so important a Town; whilst others, moved by Avarice, expecting to enrich themselves with the Plunder, fomented the King's Indignation. And a Notion prevailed through the Army, that *Charles* was resolved to punish them for being the first in *Italy* who had presumed to resist him.

THERE were others in his Council, who persuaded him to restore *Piero de Medici*, particularly Monsignor *Brescia*, Brother to the Duke of *Savoy*, who being his particular Friend, had promised to stand by him on all Occasions.

THE King, influenced by these Ministers, or with a Design of terrifying the *Florentines* into a Compliance, or with a View of having it afterwards in his Power

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Power to favour *Piero*, or the Magistrate, as should best suit his Interest, contrary to the Advice of the Bishop of St. Malò, writ a Letter to *Piero*, and ordered his Friend Monsignor *Philippo* to write him another, inviting him to join his Troops near *Florence*, where he promised to reinstate him in his former Power, in Consideration of his easy Compliance in delivering up the Forts, and of the Friendship which had subsisted betwixt their Fathers.

THE Letters did not find him at *Bologna* as was expected; for *Piero*, affronted at the rough Reception he had met with from *Bentivoglio*, and fearing he might be in danger from the Duke of *Milan*, and perhaps from the King of *France* also, if he remained at that Place, was unfortunately gone to *Venice*, where the Letters were forwarded by the Cardinal his Brother, who staid at *Bologna*.

IN *Florence* they were very jealous of what might be the King's Intentions; but as they were not in a condition to make an

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Opposition, it was thought advisable, as less dangerous, to admit him into the Town, hoping by some means or other to appease him. Nevertheless, to be prepared against all Events, they ordered many of the Citizens to fill their Houses privately with Country People, and dissembling the Reason, commanded several Officers in their Pay to enter the Town with Soldiers, and all their Subjects, both in Town and Country, to be alert and ready to take up Arms, at the Toll of the great Bell of the Palace.

THE King made his Entry in great Pomp at the Head of his Army, on Horseback; the *French* and the *Florentines* vying with each other in Magnificence. His Majesty appeared like a Conqueror, with his erected Lance resting on his Thigh. A Treaty was entered upon immediately, but was attended with seemingly insuperable Difficulties: For besides the immoderate Regard professed by many of the King's Followers to the Name of *Piero de Medici*, and the exorbitant Demands that were made for Money, *Charles* peremptorily

peremptorily required the absolute Domi- ^{A. D.}
 nion of *Florence*; alledging, that by ^{1494.}
 coming into the Town in the armed
 manner he did, he had gained it lawfully
 according to the Rules of War practised
 by the *French*.

AT last he receded from this Point,
 and insisted only on leaving behind him
 certain Ambassadors with Gowns, called
 in *France* Doctors, and Men of the Robe.
 This, according to the *French* Custom,
 would have created him for ever a sort
 of Jurisdiction. But the *Florentines* being
 determined at all Hazards to preserve
 their Liberty entire, warmly refused to
 submit to this Demand.

BOTH Parties argued with great
 Vehemence, yet neither was in a Con-
 dition to oppose the other, or terminate
 the Disputes with the Sword. As for the
 People, they had applied themselves,
 Time out of Mind, to mercantile Affairs,
 knew little of military Exercises, and
 were in great Awe of so powerful a King
 within their Walls, with an Army com-

A. D. 1494. posed of different Nations, who might every Instant fall upon them.

ON the other Hand, the *French* were apprehensive of the great Number of Inhabitants, who had shewn more Resolution and Bravery the Day *Piero* was attainted than could have been imagined: Besides it was rumoured, that at the Toll of the great Bell the whole Country would rise and destroy them; and every now and then one or other of these Whispers prevailing, each Side would run to Arms, but never came to Blows; nor did one Party insult the other.

THE King's Scheme concerning *Piero de Medici* did not succeed: For *Piero*, divided betwixt the Hopes of being restored, and Fear of being delivered up to his Adversaries, produced his Letters to the *Venetian* Senate, desiring their Advice.

NOTHING is certainly more essential in difficult Deliberations, nothing more dangerous, than to ask Advice; nor is it to be doubted, but that Counsel is less necessary

necessary to the Prudent than to the Imprudent; and yet what Advantage have the Wise over the Unwise in the delicate Point of taking Advice? For who is sufficiently discerning to distinguish the best, amidst a variety of Counsels? Again, what Assurance have we of being faithfully advised? He who gives Counsel, if he is not extremely candid, or has not a particular Affection mixed with Esteem for the Person who consults him; if he is moved by Interest, or biased by Caprice, he generally gives his Opinion as best corresponds with his own Views, or peculiarity of Temper; and these Motives being concealed from him who asks Advice, unless he possesses an extraordinary Quickness of Penetration, he still remains ignorant of, and may be misled by the Perfidiousness of such a Counsel.

THIS was the Case of *Piero de Medici*: For the *Venetians* apprehending that his going to *Florence* would facilitate the King's Measures, which were different from their own, rather counselling themselves than *Piero*, efficaciously persuaded

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him not to put himself in the King's Power; who, they said, must without doubt think himself injured by him; and to induce him the readier to comply with their Advice, they offered to undertake his Cause, and reinstate him on the first occasion that offered. But for fear he should not follow this Counsel, it was reported, they placed secret Guards to prevent his leaving *Venice*, in case he should attempt it.

By this Time the two Parties in *Florence* were very much exasperated, and near coming to an open Rupture: The King would not recede from any of his last Demands, and the Republic was resolved not to give the immense Sums he required, nor part with the least of their Privileges, by allowing him any sort of Jurisdiction.

THESE Difficulties, thought unmountable without the Force of Arms, were at last composed by the Resolution of *Piero Capponi*, one of the Citizens appointed to treat: He was a Man of
great

great Capacity, and very much esteemed *A. D.*
 in *Florence*, being of an antient Family, ^{1494.}
 and descended from Parents who had been
 useful to the Republic.

ONE day at a Conference, together with the other Deputies, on the Royal Secretary's reading the immoderate Articles peremptorily insisted on, *Piero* got up, and furiously snatching the Paper from the Secretary, tore it in Pieces in the King's Presence; adding, with an agitated Voice, since your Demands are so unjust, you may sound your Trumpets, and we will Ring our Bells, which he intended as a Declaration of War, and with the same Vehemence, followed by his Companions, quitted the Room.

THIS Speech from the Mouth of such a Citizen, who was well known to the Court of *France* (where he had been lately sent Ambassador) struck the *French* with Astonishment; For they imagined he would not have ventured to speak so boldly, without being certain
 that

A. D. that his Republick was in a condition to
1494. support what he had advanced.

THE *French*, intimidated by this resolute Behaviour, civilly entreated the Deputies to return, when giving up the odious Articles, the following Terms were agreed on. That, all Injuries forgot, the City of *Florence* should be a Friend, Confederate, and under the perpetual Protection of the Crown of *France*: That, for the King's Security, *Pisa* and *Livorno*, with their Citadels, should be left in his Majesty's Hands, but restored without any Costs, as soon as the Expedition to the Kingdom of *Naples* was over, and it was explained, that it should be understood to be over, when ever the *French* were in possession of the City of *Naples*; or that the King's Pretensions should be amicably settled by a Peace, or a Truce of two Years, or, when on any pretence whatsoever, his Majesty should quit *Italy*, and return into *France*: That the present Governors should now take an Oath to restore them, whenever any of the above mentioned

tioned Cases should happen: That in the mean Time, the Dominion, Jurisdiction, and Revenues of the said Towns should belong to the *Florentines*: The same Conditions to be observed for *Pietra Santa*, *Sarzana*, and *Sarzanello*: That it should be left to the King to decide the Claims the *Genoese* had to these last Places; but should he not decree them in favour of the *Genoese*, before any of the aforementioned Cases happened, he should then restore them to their Republic: That the King might leave in *Florence* two Ambassadors, without whose Presence nothing should be treated on concerning this Expedition, nor should they without his permission make a General of their own Forces: That, excepting the above mentioned Places, all other Towns should be restored immediately, and they permitted to recover by force of Arms such as should persist in their Rebellion: That within a Fortnight they should pay his Majesty Fifty Thousand Ducats, Forty Thousand more in *March*, and Thirty Thousand in *June*: The Rebellion of
Pisa,

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A. D. Pisa, and all other Misdeameanours committed since, should be forgiven: That ^{1494.} *Piero de Medici*, and his two Brother's Attainder should be reversed, and their Effects restored, on condition that *Piero* should not approach within a hundred Miles of the Borders of the Republic, (this was designed to prevent his settling in *Rome*) nor his Brothers within a hundred of the City of *Florence*.

THESE were the principal Articles of the Capitulation, which were published with great Solemnity and Ceremony in the Cathedral in the Time of Divine Service, which the King (at whose instance this was done so publicly) and the Magistrates of the City, prostrated before the High Altar, solemnly swore to observe.

TWO Days after *Charles* left *Florence*, and went to *Siena*. This City was in Confederacy with the King of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*, and had followed their Directions, till the Journey of *Piero*
to

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to *Sarzana*, obliged the Citizens to consult their own Safety. A. D. 1494.

THE City of *Siena* is populous, has a fertile Territory, and next to *Florence*, had long obtained the Name of the most powerful State in *Tuscany*: It was governed by its own Magistrates, but in such a manner, that the Citizens were rather amused and pleased with the Name of Liberty, than enjoyed the Effects of it: For the People, divided into many Factions, submitted to that Party which according to Accidents, or by Favour of foreign Potentates, was most powerful. At this Time that Party called the *Monte* or Magistrate of Nine prevailed.

CHARLES, after staying a few Days at *Siena* left a Garrison, because that City was known of old to be devoted to the Empire, and therefore suspected. He then directed his March towards *Rome*, growing every Day more and more insolent from his Successes, hitherto far beyond Expectation: As the Season was fair, he determined, without loss of Time, to pursue

A. D. 1494. pursue his good Fortune: He was now become terrible not only to his avowed Enemies, but also to his Friends, as well as to those who observed a Neutrality.

THE *Venetian* Senate, and the Duke of *Milan*, astonished at this Rapidity, imagined that by the King's taking Possession of the *Florentine* Castles, and leaving a Guard in *Siena*, his Thoughts did not terminate in the Acquisition of *Naples*: Therefore, to be prepared against all Events, they began seriously to treat amongst themselves of a new Confederacy, which they would sooner have brought to Perfection, if (as was expected) *Charles* had met with a greater Resistance at *Rome*.

IT had been settled, that the Duke of *Calabria*, who was join'd by the Pope's Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and by *Virginio Orsini* with the remainder of the *Arragonian* Army, should make a Stand at *Viterbo*, to prevent the King's farther Progress; which Place was very proper

proper for that Purpose, as it was surrounded by the Pope's Territories, and lay near those of the *Orfini*. A. D. 1494.

BUT all the Country about *Rome* being in Confusion by the Excursions of the *Colonnese*, who had passed the *Tyber*, and the Provisions being stopt at *Ostia*, from whence they used to be brought to *Rome*, the Duke had not Resolution enough to wait at *Viterbo*; besides he doubted very much of the Pope's Intentions; for ever since *Piero de Medici's* Agreement at *Sarzana*, he had begun to listen to *French* Proposals, which were brought him by Cardinal *Ascanio*; who, before he would venture to come to *Rome*, insisted on the Pope's sending to *Marino*, a Town of the *Colonna's*, his Son, the Cardinal of *Valenza*, as a Pledge for his Security.

ASCANIO left *Rome* without bringing *Alexander* to any Determination: He was divided between a Diffidence of the King's real Intentions towards him, and the Fear of his Forces: Yet as soon as *Charles* was set out from *Florence*, he
had

A. D. had begun again to treat, and sent to
 1494. him the Bishops of *Concordia* and *Terni*,
 and Doctor *Gratiano* his Confessor, with
 Instructions to agree at the same Time for
 himself and for *Alfonso*.

BUT the King's System was different, for he was determined to agree only with the Pope, and therefore sent to him *Monf. de la Tremouille*, and the President *Gannay*. The Cardinals *Ascanio* and *Prospero Colonna* ventured to come to *Rome* on this Occasion: But the Pope, without any reasonable Motive, giving over all Thoughts of an Accommodation, ordered them immediately to be arrested, and conveyed to the Mole of *Adrian*, formerly called Castle *Crescentio*, now Castle *St. Angelo*: He then demanded the Restitution of *Ostia*, and sent for the Duke of *Calabria*, who, with his whole Army came into *Rome*, and secured the *French* Ambassadors: But they were immediately released by the Pope's Commands, as were also in a few Days *Ascanio* and *Prospero*, but with an Injunction to quit *Rome* that Instant.

HE

HE then sent to the King, who had halted at *Nepi*, Cardinal *Federigo San Severino*, with a Commission to treat of his own particular Affairs, without making any mention of *Alfonso*.

ALEXANDER was very much disturbed in his Mind; sometimes he resolved to stay in *Rome* and defend himself, and then would give Orders to *Ferdinando* to fortify the weakest Places; at others, judging that Measure impracticable on account of the want of Provisions, which could not be furnished from *Ostia*, the incredible Number of Strangers, unsettled in their Opinions, and the various Factions then subsisting in *Rome*, he resolved to abandon it, and obliged all the Cardinals to give it under their Hands to follow him: Then, alarmed at the Difficulties and imminent Dangers, he would shrink from his last Resolution, and again embrace a Scheme of Composition.

BUT whilst he was in this Uncertainty, the *French* made Excursions on the other

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side the *Tiber* all over the Country, occupying sometimes one Village, sometimes another ; and their Progress was so rapid, that none of those little Places offered to make any Resistance, but submitted immediately, and their Example was followed even by those who were in a Condition to defend themselves.

VIRGINIO ORSINI was tied by many Obligations to the *Arragonian* Family ; for he was Captain-General of the Royal Army, Great Constable of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and nearly ally'd to *Alfonso* ; his Son, *Gian Giordano* being married to a natural Daughter of the late King *Ferdinando*, from whom *Virginio* had the Grant of a Fief, and had received several other Benefactions : Yet forgetting all Favours, and that the present Calamities owed their first Rise to him, he thought it no Crime, if he remained himself in the Service of the King of *Naples*, to permit his Children to treat with the King of *France*. This was a surprising Step, and which amazed the *French*,
who

who were not accustomed to the nice
Distinctions of the *Italians*.

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IT was then stipulated with *Virginio's* Sons, that the King's Troops should be received, victualled, and have a free Passage through their Father's Dominions that were in the Pope's Territories: And *Campagnano* with some Villages were deposited in the Cardinal *Gurce's* Hands, who promised to restore them, as soon as the Army should leave the *Roman* Territory: And the Count of *Pittigliano*, with others of the *Orfini* Family, came into the same Measures.

As soon as these Conditions were signed, *Charles* quitted *Nepi* and removed to *Bracciano*, the principal Town in *Virginio's* Jurisdiction; and altho' the Roads on account of the late Rains were very deep, he dispatched *Monf. de Ligni* and *Ivo d'Allegre*, with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thousand *Swiss* to *Ostia*, with Orders to pass the *Tiber*, join the *Colonnese*, and force their Way into *Rome*; which he had good Reason to

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hope they might compass, by the Assistance of the *Romans* of the *French* Faction, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Ferdinando*. *Civita Vecchia*, *Corneto*, and almost all the Territory about *Rome* was reduced, which so alarmed the *Romans*, that they cry'd out loudly and boldly for an Accommodation.

THE Pope, sensible of his imminent Danger, and finding every Day less Probability of making an effectual Defence, would have willingly submitted ; but then, considering he had been the first who incited the King to undertake this Expedition, and afterwards, without any Provocation, had employed his Authority, Counsel, and Arms, to make an obstinate Resistance, he reasonably concluded, that whatever good Conditions he should be promised, the King would no more keep his Word, than he had done himself.

HIS Terror was encreased on observing, that the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*, and many other Cardinals his Enemies, were in high Esteem with the King,

King, at whose Persuasion, and in regard to his Name of *Most Christian*, together with the known Steadiness natural to the *French* in religious Affairs, he feared he would attempt to reform the Abuses in the Church, as was then the common Subject of Discourse.

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THIS Thought was above all Things terrible to *Alexander*, when he recollected in what an infamous manner he had mounted the Throne, and how he had continued to exercise his Function in a way answerable to so bad a Beginning. However his Suspicions were somewhat abated by the plausible Promises of the King, who, above all Things desirous to hasten his march to *Naples*, was willing to remove all Difficulties that might obstruct him, and therefore sent to *Rome* three Ambassadors, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the Marshal *de Gié*, and the President *Gannay*. They endeavoured to persuade his Holiness, that it was not the King's Intention to interest himself in what concerned the Pontifical Power; but being desirous of entering *Rome*, he

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solicited a free and safe Passage; for altho' it was in his Power to effect it by Force, yet he wished not to be laid under a Necessity of failing in the Respect due to the Dignity which his Ancestors had ever paid to the *Roman* Pontiffs: That by complying, he would soon find all their Differences converted into sincere and social Confidence.

ALEXANDER was greatly troubled at these Demands, to comply with which was, in reality, to deprive himself of the Assistance of his Friends, receive an Enemy into his own House, put himself entirely into his Power, and then rely on his Mercy: Yet, at last, finding that of all Dangers this was the least, he ordered the Duke of *Calabria* and his Army to quit *Rome*, having first obtained a Passport from the King of *France*, that he might retire with Safety out of the Ecclesiastical State.

BUT *Ferdinando*, with Contempt refusing the Pass, marched through the Gate of *St. Sebastian* the last Day of the Year,

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Year, at the same Instant of Time that A. D.
the *French* Army entered the Gate del 1495
Popolo, with the King at their Head,
armed with his Lance on his Thigh, in
the same Manner he entered *Florence*.

THE Pope, full of Anxiety and Fear, retired into Castle St. *Angelo*, accompanied only by the Cardinals *Batista Orsini*, *Olivieri*, and *Caraffa*, a *Neapolitan*. But the Cardinals *del Vincola*, *Ascanio*, those of the *Colonna* Family, and *Savelli*, with many others, resorted to the King, and pressed him to remove from the Pontifical See a Pope, loaded with such Vices as rendered him odious and detestable to the whole World, and then to procure another Election. They represented, that it would not be less glorious for him to free the Church of God from a Tyrant, than it was for *Pepin* and *Charlemaine*, his Ancestors, to free the Holy Popes from the Persecution of their unjust Oppressors. They laboured to convince him, that this was not less necessary for his own Safety than for his Interest. For how could he ever

A. D. trust to the Promises of *Alexander*, who
 1495 was by Nature fraudulent, insatiable in
 his Desires, and, as Experience taught,
 bore an implicable Hatred to the *French* ;
 and that his Reconciliation at this Juncture
 was not voluntary, but extorted by Ne-
 cessity and Fear.

THE King, induced by these Argu-
 ments, as also because the Pope refused
 to deliver up Castle *St. Angelo* till
 an Agreement was signed, twice gave
 Orders for the Artillery to be brought
 from the Palace *San Marco*, and placed
 against the said Castle. But *Charles*
 had neither Intention nor Inclination to
 hurt the Pope : Besides, those who had
 the greatest Sway in his Privy Council
 had been corrupted by Gifts into *Alexan-*
der's Interest : So at last a Treaty was
 concluded on these Conditions :

Articles
 between
 the Pope
 and the
 King of
France.

THAT there should be a perpetual
 Amity and Confederacy between the
 Pope and the King : That the Castles of
Civita Vecchia, *Terracina*, and *Spoletti*,
 (tho' this last was never given up) should
 be

be consigned to him, but restored on the Reduction of *Naples*: That *Alexander* should bury in Oblivion all Injuries received from those Cardinals and Barons, his Subjects, who had followed the King; and should instantly give him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*: That he should deliver to him *Gemin* the *Ottoman*. It was a cruel Custom among the *Turks* for a new Sovereign to establish Empire with the Blood of his nearest Relations. Wherefore *Gemin*, after the Death of his Father *Mahomet*, to avoid the cruel Persecution of his Brother *Bajazet*, who wanted to destroy him, had retired to *Rhodes*, from whence he was sent into *France*, and from thence to Pope *Innocent*. * *Bajazet*, taking Advantage of the Avarice of the Popes, in order to keep his Empire in Peace with the Christian Powers, paid annually to *Alexander*, under the Pretext of Aliments, and Charges of guarding him, Forty Thousand Crowns, as an Inducement not to

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* *Gemin* fled to *Rhodes* for Shelter, but *Pietro Deubuffon*, the Grand-Master, on his Arrival, put him in Prison, and afterwards sent him well guarded into *Provence*, from whence he was carried to *Rome*.

A. D. to set him at Liberty, or deliver him up
 1495. to other Princes.

CHARLES'S Drift in demanding *Gemin*, was to facilitate his Undertaking against the *Turks*, which, elated with vain Adulation; he had resolved on, as soon as he should have brought the *Neapolitans* under his Obedience. The King's Officers had seized in *Romagna* the last Forty Thousand Crowns, remitted by *Bajazet*, which were in the Hands of the Prefect of *Rome* at *Semigaglia*: The King now insisted, that no Restitution should be required, or any farther Notice taken of that Affair. By the last Article it was stipulated, that the Cardinal of *Valenza* should reside with the King, as Apostolical Legate for Three Months; the Design of which was, that he should remain as an Hostage for the Performance of his Father's Engagements.

THIS Agreement being signed, the Pope returned to the *Vatican*, where with the Pomp and Ceremonies, usual on such Occasions, he received the King
 in

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in St. *Peter's* Church, where, first on his A. D.
 Knees, according to antient Custom, he 1495.
 kissed his Holiness's Feet, and then his
 Face.

ANOTHER Day he assisted at the Pontifical Mass, and took his Place, which was after the first Cardinal Bishop, and according to the antient Rites, he served the Water when the Pope washed his Hands. *Alexander* to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, had it painted in a Gallery of Castle St. *Angelo*: He also, at the King's Request, created Cardinals the Bishops of St. *Malo*, and *Meaux*, a Prelate of the *Luxembourg* Family, and gave him all the Demonstrations of a sincere and faithful Reconciliation.

CHARLES staid in *Rome* about a Month, all the while sending Troops to the borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was full of Combustions: Before he left *Rome*, *Aquila* and the greatest part of *Abruzzo* had declared for him, and set up his Standard, and *Fabritio*
Colonna

A. D. *Colonna* had seized on the Districts of
 1495. *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*.

NOR were there less Disturbances in
 Distur- other parts of the Kingdom. For as soon
 bances in as *Ferdinando* had quitted *Rome*, the
 the King- as Effects of the People's Hatred to *Alfonso*
 dom of Effects of the People's Hatred to *Alfonso*
Naples. began to appear: The bad Usage they
 had so lately received from old *Fer-*
dinando was fresh in their Memory:
 They exclaimed vehemently against the
 tyrannical Oppression they had suffered
 under the *Arragonians*, and more par-
 ticularly against the Cruelty and Pride of
Alfonso: They openly testified their Joy
 for the Arrival of the *French*; and the
 old *Anjouin* Faction was exasperated at
 the Imprisonment and Banishment of so
 great a Number of their Barons by *Fer-*
dinando: A Conduct which is ever an In-
 ducement to effect Alterations in Govern-
 ments. But besides all former Provo-
 cations, the sole Disaffection to the Per-
 son of *Alfonso*, was sufficient to produce
 a Revolution, if the least Occasion offer-
 ed.

As soon as the News of *Ferdinando's* quitting *Rome* reached *Naples*, *Alfonso* was seized with such a Panick, that forgetful of the Fame and Glory he had acquired in the Wars of *Italy*, and despairing to weather so great a Storm, at once resolved to abandon his Kingdom, and renounce the Title and Royal Authority to *Ferdinando*: He hoped that himself, who was so odious, being removed, and his Son, a young Prince of great Expectation become King; a Prince, who for his Goodness was no ways obnoxious to the People, such a Change might allay the great Eagerness of revolting to the *French*.

A REPORT prevailed, (if we may credit such Reports without the Imputation of Superstition) that the Ghost of old *Ferdinando* appeared three different Nights to *Jacopo*, the chief Surgeon at Court, and first with a complaisant Air, but afterwards with a Countenance more fierce and menacing, ordered him to go to *Alfonso*, and command him in his
Name

A. D. Name to relinquish all Hopes of resist-
 1495. ing the *French*, it being decreed that his
 Progeny, after experiencing Misfortunes
 innumerable and various, should at last
 be stript of their Kingdom, and the Fa-
 mily extinguished : That this Calamity
 flowed from their unnumbered Enormi-
 ties, especially that aggravated Barbarity
 which *Alfonso*, at his Instigation, com-
 mitted near *Naples*, in the Church of
St. Leonardo, in *Chiaia*, when he return-
 ed from *Pozzuolo* : As no other particu-
 lars were mentioned, it was conjectured
 that *Alfonso* had privately put to death
 in that place several Barons, who had
 been detained a long Time in Prison.

Alfonso
 abandons
 his King-
 dom.

BUT, be this as it will, certain it is,
Alfonso tormented with Remorses of Con-
 science could get no Rest : His Thoughts
 were disturbed with the many Noble-
 men he had destroyed ; and every Mo-
 ment he expected to be assassinated by the
 tumultuous, enraged Populace. Almost
 distracted with these Reflections, he re-
 solved at once to quit his Kingdom ;
 he imparted the Secret only to the
 Queen

Queen, his Mother-in-law, who could not prevail with him to wait a few Days. In vain she pressed him to consult his Brother and his Son; he was obstinate, and went on Board one of the four light Gallies he had loaded with Treasure, a few Days before he had compleated the first Year of his Reign: But pursued by his guilty Conscience, he was still in as much Consternation, as if he had been surrounded by the *French*, and starting at the least Noise, as tho' the Elements were in League against him, he fled to *Mazara*, a Town in *Sicily*, given him some time before by the King of *Spain*.

THE King of *France*, in setting out from *Rome*, received the News of this Flight: When he came to *Velletri*, Cardinal *Valenza* eloped, and tho' the Pope put on an Air of Resentment, and offered any Satisfaction, yet it was thought he escaped by his Direction, that he might have it in his Power to perform or not his late Agreement, according to

A. D.

1495.

Charles
sets out
from Rome

A. D. to the different Circumstances of Affairs.
 1495.

San Fortino taken FROM *Velletri* the Van marched to Mount *Fortino*, a Village in the Ecclesiastic State, subject to *Jacopo Conti*, a Roman Baron, who first followed *Charles*, but afterwards, out of Hatred to the *Colonnese*, guided more by Passion than Honour, went into *Alfonso's* Service. This Place, tho' strongly situated, was by the force of the Artillery taken in a few Hours, and all the Inhabitants put to Death, except three of *Jacopo's* Children, and a few more, who got into the Citadel, but soon delivered themselves Prisoners.

THE Army afterwards proceeded to Mount St. *Giovanni*, that belonged to the Marquis of *Pescara*, not far from the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, a Place by Situation strong, and well fortified: For there were Three Hundred foreign Foot, and Five Hundred of the Inhabitants determined to defend themselves. It was imagined the *French* would

would be detained here for some Days. *A. D.*
 But after once firing the Cannon, they *1495.*
 gave the Assault in the King's Presence
 with so much Bravery, that, in spite of
 a valiant Defence, they became Masters
 of it the same Day, and, to set an
 Example to others not to make any Op-
 position, they committed excessive Cruel-
 ties; for after murdering the People,
 they set Fire to the Edifices: This man-
 ner of making War not having been
 practised in *Italy* for many Ages, filled
 the Inhabitants with Terror.

HERETOFORE, when the Victorious
 exerted their utmost Vigour, their Custom
 was to strip the Soldiers, and then set
 them at Liberty to plunder the Places
 taken by Assault, and make the Inha-
 bitants Prisoners, till they had paid what
 Contribution was demanded; but the
 Lives of those were always spared, who
 were not killed in the heat of the
 Battle.

THIS was all the Opposition the King
 of *France* met with in the Conquest of

A. D. 1495. so noble a Kingdom, in the Defence of which there was not the least appearance of Courage, Conduct, Thirst of Honour, or Fidelity.

Ferdinand
do crown-
ed.

THE Duke of *Calabria*, who was on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, after his Father's Retreat, was invited to *Naples*, and installed with the usual Solemnity, tho' not with the same Rejoicings. He mustered his Army, that consisted of Fifty Squadrons of Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, all pick'd Men, conducted by the most renowned Captains in *Italy*, and made a Stand at *San Germano* to hinder the Enemy from advancing; which place he chose for its Situation. On one side it was covered by high and rocky Mountains, on the other protected by a marshy Ground; and in front he had the River *Garigliano* (call'd *Liri* by the Antients) tho' not deep enough in that place to prevent sometimes its being waded. The narrowness of the Passage of *St. Germano*, had deservedly gained it the Name of one of the Keys of the Kingdom of *Naples*:

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Naples: From hence he sent a Body of *A. D.*
Troops to the Top of the Mountain to ^{1495.}
guard the pass *Cancelle*.

BUT *Alfonso's* Army, already frightened at *San Ger-*
the Name of the *French*, shewed no sort *mano 2-*
of Resolution; for some of the Leaders *bandoned,*
were more concerned for the Safety of
their Persons and Estates, than for that of
the Kingdom, which they considered as
lost, whilst others, desirous of Novelty, be-
gan to waver, not only in their Fidelity,
but in their Courage. Nor were they
without Apprehension, that the People
behind them might revolt, as the whole
Nation was in a ferment. Overcome
by these abject Considerations, as soon
as they heard that Mount St. *Giovanni*
was taken, and that Marshal *Gié* was
marching towards them with Three
Hundred Lances and Two Thousand
Foot, they ignobly quitted *San Germano*,
and in such Confusion, that they left on
the Road Eight Pieces of large Cannon,
and retired to *Capua*.

THE new King, trusting to the Love
P 2 the

A. D. 1495. the Inhabitants of that Town had professed to the Family of *Arragon*, and to the Strength of the Situation, it being fronted by the River *Vulturno*, of a great depth in that Place, hoped it would hold out; in which case he was determined not to lessen his Army by sending Reinforcements to other Places, and by this conduct thought he should be able to preserve *Naples* and *Gaeta*.

Ferdinando and his Army in Capua.

THE *French* did not follow the Enemy in a Body, but dispersed, and without Order; proceeding rather as if they were on a Journey than a March: Every one straggled where he thought he could get most Plunder, and advanced without Colours or Discipline; yet they kept so close to the Enemy, that commonly the foremost of the *French* at Night took up their Quarters in the same Villages that were quitted some Hours before by the *Arragonians*.

BUT at *Capua* there was neither more Resolution, nor better Fortune: For no sooner had *Ferdinando* encamped his Army

THE WARS IN ITALY. 213

Army (which, since the flight from *San Germano* was very much diminished) *A. D.*
1495 than he received Letters from the Queen, acquainting him, that the Loss of *San Germano* had occasioned such a Tumult in *Naples*, that unless he came in Person there was Danger of a Revolution.

FERDINANDO, after promising to return to *Capua* the next Day, took with him a few Friends, and rode to *Naples*, in Hopes of appeasing the People with his Presence: But *Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzi*, to whom he left the Care of the City, had already underhand desired the King of *France* to send him a Herald, under whose Convoy he might approach his Majesty with Safety: Which being comply'd with, he, with some of the Gentry of *Capua*, (notwithstanding the Reproaches of many, who were disposed to preserve their Allegiance to *Ferdinando*) went to *Calvi*, where the King was just arrived.

TRIVULZI came in his Armour, and being introduced to his Majesty in that Array, *Trivulzi*
Speech to
the King
spoke of *France*.

A. D.

1495

spoke in the Name of the rest of the Officers and Soldiers to this purpose, That *Ferdinando* was not in a Condition to defend them, otherwise they were disposed to serve him faithfully, as they had done whilst there were any Hopes left; but these now extinguished, they were come to a Resolution of subjecting themselves to his Most Christian Majesty, provided they were allowed honourable Conditions; adding, that he did not in the least doubt, but he should be able to persuade *Ferdinando* himself to come in Person and submit, if he could be assured of a Reception suitable to his Dignity and Merit.

THE King very graciously reply'd, he accepted the Offer, and should with pleasure admit him, if he came with a Resolution of renouncing all claims to the Kingdom of *Naples*: In that case he should be dignified with Honours, and invested with Principalities in the Kingdom of *France*.

IT is a Matter of Speculation what induced

induced *Giov. Jacopo Trivulzi*, a brave A. D.
1495.
 Officer, and one who valued himself on being reputed a Man of Honour, to act in this manner: He himself gave out, that it was by the King his Master's Directions, to try if he could procure some Composition with the *French* King. But when he found he was excluded from all such Hopes, and that the Defence of the Kingdom was now become impracticable, it seemed to him not only lawful, but commendable to provide in Time for the Safety of *Capua* and the Army.

BUT the common Opinion was very different: He was thought to have been desirous of a *French* Conquest, expecting after the Reduction of *Naples*, the King would turn his Arms against the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he was born of a noble Family, and then he expected to take his Revenge of the Duke of *Milan*. He was greatly dissatisfied with *Lodovico*, not thinking his Merit sufficiently rewarded; and was offended on account of the many Favours he heaped on the *San*

A. D. *Severini*: And those who were apprised
 1495. of his Views, did not scruple to accuse
 him of having advised *Ferdinando* in *Romagna*, to proceed with more Caution than he ought to have done on several Occasions.

BEFORE the Return of *Trivulzi*, the young King's Quarters in *Capua* had been plundered by his own People, his Horses carried away, and the Army dispersed in different Places. *Virginio* and Count *Pittigliano* (after sending to the French Camp for a Pass) retired with their Regiments to *Nola*, which Town had been given to the Count by the *Arragonians*.

FERDINANDO, ignorant of what had passed in *Capua*, was returning thither at the Time promised, having composed the Minds of the *Neapolitans* with the Hopes he had given them of defending that City, which was a Barrier to *Naples*. When he was come within two Miles of *Capua*, the Citizens took up Arms to prevent his Entrance, and by common Consent some of the Nobility were deputed

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puted to desire him not to advance any farther, and let him know, that as he himself had abandoned their City, *Trivulzi* their Governor had been with the King of *France*, his Quarters had been plundered by his own Soldiers, *Virginio* and Count *Pittigliano* had quitted him, and most of his Army was disbanded, Self-preservation put them under a Necessity of submitting to the Conqueror.

FERDINANDO, after begging in vain, with Tears in his Eyes, to be admitted, was obliged to return to *Naples*, being fully persuaded the rest of the Kingdom would soon follow the Example of *Capua*, in which he was not mistaken : For *Aversa*, a City of Note between *Capua* and *Naples*, sent their Deputies to *Charles*, with whom the *Neapolitans* began also to treat.

WHEREFORE the unhappy Prince, finding it to no Purpose to oppose such an impetuous Torrent of bad Fortune, summoned the Nobles and others in the
Square

A. D. Square before his Palace of Castle *Nuova*,
 1495. and harangued them in this manner :

“ I A P P E A L to God, and to all those
 “ who have had any Intimacy with me,
 “ if the only Desire I ever entertained of
 “ ascending the Throne, was not to
 “ convince the World how much I am
 “ displeased and affected with the bad
 “ Government of my Father and Grand-
 “ father ; and to recover by my good
 “ Actions that Love they had lost by
 “ their Male-Administration : The ill
 “ Fate of my Family has not permitted
 “ me to gather this Fruit, much more
 “ honourable than to be King : For to
 “ reign often depends upon Fortune ;
 “ but to be a King, and to have no
 “ other View in being so than the Good
 “ of the Subject, depends only on
 “ personal Virtue.

“ O U R Affairs are now reduced into
 “ a narrow Compass, and we have more
 “ Reason to complain that we have lost our
 “ Kingdom by the Infidelity and shameful
 “ Cowardice of our Officers and Armies,
 “ than

" than our Enemies to boast they ^{A. D.}
 " have gained it by their Valour ^{1495.}
 " and Conduct ; and yet I should
 " not be without Hopes, if we could
 " make but a little Stand ; for the King
 " of *Spain*, and all the *Italian* Princes
 " are preparing to come powerfully to
 " our Aid. They have now opened
 " their Eyes, and are convinced that
 " the Fire that has broke out in our
 " Dominions, if not extinguished in
 " Time, will also extend to theirs.

" F O R my part I don't want Courage
 " to terminate my Reign and Life at
 " the same Time, with that Glory which
 " may seem to be required in a young
 " Prince, lineally descended from so
 " many Kings, and which would be
 " answerable to those Expectations you
 " have hitherto been pleased to entertain
 " of me.

" B U T as this cannot be attempted
 " without exposing our Country to great
 " Dangers, I am rather inclined to give
 " way to bad Fortune, and restrain my
 " Ardour,

A. D.

1495.

“ Ardour, than by endeavouring to pre-
 “ serve the Crown, draw those Miseries
 “ on my People, to avoid which only,
 “ I desired to reign over them.

“ I A D V I S E and entreat you to send
 “ and agree with the King of *France* ;
 “ and that you may do it without any
 “ Prejudice to your Honour, I freely
 “ absolve you from your Homage, and
 “ the Oaths of Allegiance, which a few
 “ Days since you took to me : I counsel
 “ you to do it soon, that you may get
 “ better Terms, and mitigate the haughty
 “ Spirit of the *French*.

“ I F their Barbarity should afterwards
 “ render their Government hateful, I
 “ shall be at hand to assist you, and
 “ always ready to expose my Life in
 “ any dangerous Enterprize. But should
 “ you find their Administration mild,
 “ and happy, neither this City or
 “ Kingdom shall ever see me inclined
 “ to disturb their Repose : The Felicity
 “ of my People will assuage my Suffer-
 “ ings. I shall receive a true Satisfaction
 “ from

" from your being sensible I neither, as *A. D.*
 " Prince or King, ever injured any one. *1495.*
 " That I cannot be accused of Avarice
 " or Cruelty : That I am not unfortunate
 " through my own, but by my Ancestors
 " Misconduct : And that I am more
 " affected at losing the Opportunity of
 " attoning for their Crimes by a righteous
 " Government, than at the Loss of my
 " Authority and Royal Dignity.

" Tho' an Exile, driven from my
 " Country and Kingdom, I should not
 " think myself entirely miserable, if I
 " knew you were convinced, that these
 " are my real Sentiments, and were per-
 " suaded, I should have followed the
 " Example of my Great-Grandfather
 " *Alfonso*, and not that of my Grand-fa-
 " ther *Ferdinando*, nor *Alfonso* my Father."

THIS Speech was heard with Com-
 passion, and drew Tears from many.
 But the Hatred against the two last Kings
 was so vehement, and so alluring the
 Novelty of a *French* Government, that
 the Disaffection still continued. As
 soon

A. D. soon as the King was retired, the Mob
 1495. pillaged the Stables before his Palace ;
 an Indignity he could not bear : Where-
 fore he returned into the Square with a
 few Courtiers, and at his Presence they
 abstained from their Plunder. He then
 ordered the Ships that were in the Harbour
 to be burnt, that they might not be of
 Use to the Enemy.

Ferdinan- THERE was Reason to suspect that
do aban- Five Hundred *Germans*, who guarded the
dons his Castle, intended to make him a Prisoner ;
Kingdom. to avoid which he made them a Present
 of all that was therein, and whilst they
 were taken up in dividing the Effects,
 having first set at Liberty all the Barons
 who escaped the Cruelties of his Father
 and Grand-father, (excepting the Prince
 of *Rossano*, and Count *Pepoli*) he
 went out of the little Gate of the Castle
 on board the light Gallies, that waited
 for him.

HE was accompanied by Don *Federigo*,
 the old Queen Consort to his Grand-
 father, *Joanna* his Aunt, and a few others,
 and

and landed in the Isle of *Ischia*, called *A. D.*
 by the Antients *Enacria*, thirty Miles *1495.*
 from *Naples*, repeating often the Words
 of the Psalmist, “ That it was in vain to
 guard a City that is not guarded by God.

BUT meeting every where with Difficulties, he was obliged at *Ischia* to exert his Courage; for the Governor of the Castle refused to admit him, unless he would come in without his Followers. He agreed to it, but had no sooner entered the Gates than he collared the Governor, and discovered such Resolution, that the Soldiers, awed by his majestick Looks, submitted, and gave him Possession of the Place.

As soon as the News was spread of the King's Flight, the *French*, like a Torrent, over-run the Country; all Places tamely yielding wherever they appeared. *Virginio* and Count *Pitigliano*, without any Resistance, were made Prisoners by Two Hundred Horse of *Ligni's* Company, tho' the Count had a Garrison of Four Hundred Men. They submitted, partly apprehending

A. D. 1495. apprehending themselves comprized in the Passports that their Friends advised were procured from the *French*; and partly being struck with the same Panic as the rest. They were sent Prisoners to the Castle of *Mondragone*, and all their Equipages and People were plundered.

*Charles
enters
Naples.*

THE *Neapolitans* sent Ambassadors to make a tender of their City to the King, who was come to *Aversa*. *Charles* very generously granted them many Privileges in token of his Satisfaction; and the next Day, which was the Twenty First of *February*, he made his Entry into *Naples*, where he was received with so much Applause, that it would be in vain to attempt the Description.

'TIS sufficient to say, that both Sexes, all Ages, People of all Conditions and Factions, joined in their Expressions of Joy, as much as if he had been the Father or first Founder of their City. They all accompanied him to the Cathedral, from whence, as he was not in possession of the new Castle, he proceeded

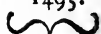
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ceeded to Castle *Capuano*, the old Habitation of the *French* Kings.

A. D.

1495.



THE Rapidity and wonderful Success of this Expedition surpassed the Examples of *Julius Cæsar*. *Charles* conquered before he saw, and with so much Ease, that in his whole March he was under no necessity of forming a Camp, or breaking a Lance: Many also of his Expences proved needless, for his Fleet which was equipped at a vast Charge, tofs'd about and shatter'd by Storms, was driven into the Isle of *Corfica*, and did not arrive on the Coasts of the Kingdom, till *Charles* was Master of *Naples*. Such were the effects of intestine Broils, which so baffled the known Wisdom, and blinded the Understandings of our Princes, that, with Shame to our Arms, and Danger to all *Italy*, they suffered a powerful and flourishing part of our Country to be alienated and reduced to the Obedience of *Ultramountains*.

FOR old *Ferdinando*, tho' born in *Spain*,
(yet as he was from his Infancy bred up

Q

in

A. D. in *Italy*, had no Principality elsewhere,
1495. and his Children and Grand Children
being born and educated in *Italy*) was re-
puted an *Italian*.

End of the First Book.




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*Francesco Guicciardini's*

H I S T O R Y

O F

The W A R S in I T A L Y.

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B O O K II.

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T H E C O N T E N T S.

*The War of Pisa. The Change of the Florentine Government. A League between the Pope, the Venetians, and other Princes against the French. The King's Return towards France. The Battle of the Taro. Ferdinando's Return to Naples. The Siege of Novara by the Confederates. The Peace between Charles and the Duke of Milan. The First Discovery of the French Disease in Italy.*

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URING these Transactions in Rome *A. D.*
and Naples, the Sparks of a ^{1495.}
small Fire were diffusing them-
selves in other Places, and at last broke

A. D. 1495 out into a mighty Flame, to the Detri-
 ment of many, but most particularly
 of him, who, thro' an immoderate Love
 of Dominion, had raked the Ashes and
 nourished the Fire.

WHEN the King of *France* was at
Florence, it had been stipulated, that,
 altho' he should keep possession of *Pisa*
 till the Reduction of *Naples*, yet the Re-
 venues of that State should be received
 by the *Florentines*: But at his Departure,
 he made no Provision, nor left any Or-
 ders for the Execution of this Article.
 Wherefore the *Pisans*, finding themselves
 favour'd by the *French* Commissary and
 the Soldiery left by the King to guard
 the Town, laid hold of the Opportunity,
 and resolved never more to return under
 the *Florentine* Government.

THEY took up Arms and fell on the
 Tax-Gatherers, as well as on all the *Flo-*
rentines, some of whom they expelled,
 others they imprisoned, and confiscated
 their Effects. Then, to confirm their
 Rebellion, they not only sent Ambassadors

to

to the King for his Protection, but apply'd for Aid to the Republicks of *Siena* ^{A. D. 1495.} and *Lucca*, both at great Enmity with the *Florentines*; who, elated at this Revolt, provided them with Money, and the *Senefe* sent them some Horse: Ambassadors were also dispatched to *Venice*, to sound the *Senate's* Intentions, who met with a gracious Reception, but returned with little Encouragement to hope for Success.

THEIR greatest Expectations were from the Duke of *Milan*, not doubting but as he had been the principal Author of their Rising, he would be disposed to protect them vigorously, nor were they deceived; for tho' he endeavoured to make the *Florentines* believe otherwise, he apply'd himself secretly to do every Thing in his Power for their Support: He persuaded the *Genoese* to procure for them Arms and Ammunition, and to send a Commissary to *Pisa* with Three Hundred Soldiers.

THE *Genoese* were become Jealous of
 Q 3 the

A. D. the *Florentines* ever since they had made
 1495. themselves Masters of *Pisa*, and had
 bought of their Doge *Tomaso Fregoso*,
 the Port of *Livorno*: This Jealousy was
 turned into Enmity, when they took
 from them *Pietra Santa* and *Sar-*
zana: * They had already begun to
 shew their Resentment, by getting pos-
 session of most of the *Florentine* Villages
 in the *Lunegiana*, and were at this pre-
 sent Time employed in recovering some
 forfeited Estates in the Neighbourhood
 of *Pietra Santa*, for which they pre-
 tended the King of *France* had given
 his Consent under his Signet.

THE *Florentines* complained of these
 Proceedings to the Duke of *Milan*: His
 Answer was, that by Treaties still sub-
 sisting between him and the *Genoese*, he
 was not to interest himself in their poli-
 tical Affairs: Yet he endeavoured to
 make them believe he would espouse
 their Cause, tho' at the same Time he
 secretly

* The *Florentines* bought *Legborne* of the Doge in
 1418 for 120,000 Ducats, at the Time the *Genoese*
 Territory was infested by *Philippo Maria Visconti*,
 Duke of *Milan*.

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secretly assisted the *Pisans* to the utmost of his Power.

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A. D.

1495.

LODOVICO entertained Hopes, that if *Pisa* was not recovered by the *Florentines*, he might easily become Master of it himself, which he violently desired, both in regard to its Situation, and his Grandeur : Nor was this a new Device : It began at the Time he was banished *Milan*, after the Death of *Galeazzo* his Brother, when *Madonna Bona*, Mother and Guardian to the young Prince, conceiving a Jealousie of his ambitious Designs, kept him confined in *Pisa* several Months.

BEFORE *Pisa* fell under the Jurisdiction of the *Florentines*, it had been govern'd by *Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti*, first Duke of *Milan*, and *Lodovico* thought it would be a glorious Atchievement to recover what had already been part of the Dutchy : He imagined he had also some Right, because *Giovanni Galeazzo* by Will left the Dominion of it to his natural Son *Gabriello Maria*,
 Q 4 which,

A. D. which, he said, could not be valid in
 1495 Law: For altho' it had been *Galeazzo's*
 own Acquisition, it had nevertheless been
 purchased with the Money and Forces
 of the Dukedom of *Milan*.

The Pi- A F T E R the *Pisans* had recovered
sans reco- the Liberty of their City, they applied
ver their themselves to regain also the rest of their
Territory State. Almost all the Towns, (as is
 usual in such Cases) followed the Ex-
 ample of the Capital, without any Op-
 position from the *Florentines*, who de-
 pended on the King's adjusting every
 Thing, as by his solemn Oath he had
 engaged before he left *Florence*. But
 when they found he put them off with
 frivolous Excuses, they sent their Troops,
 which either by Treaty or by Force
 retook all the revolted Territories, except
Cascina, *Buti*, and *Vicopisano*, into which
 the *Pisans*, not able to defend the whole,
 had contracted their Forces.

Charles C H A R L E S, in his Heart, was not
encoura- sorry for this Revolt, and it was openly
ges the favoured by many of his Courtiers ; some
Rebellion out

out of Compassion, thinking the *Pisans* A. D.
1494. had been severely treated; others in Opposition to the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who favoured the *Florentines*; but the Seneschal of *Beaucair* was the most sanguine, who besides being bribed by the *Pisans*, was of all others the most uneasy at the Confidence the King reposed in the Cardinal.

BEAUCAIR, according to the Custom of Courtiers when out of Place, applauded all that Minister's Measures; but as soon as he got into Favour, provided the Cardinal's Credit was lessened, he did not care how much the Honour of his Master suffered by the Breach of his Promises. He, with many others, endeavoured to persuade the King, that it was not for his Interest to give up the *Pisans*, at least till the *Neapolitan* War was at an End. Their Arguments prevailed; but *Charles* chusing for some time to keep both Parties in suspense, before he left *Rome* had ordered the *Florentine* Ambassadors to come to him, and in his Presence hear what the *Pisans*

A. D. *Pisans* had to allege in Vindication of
 1495 their Conduct.

Lolo's BURGUNDIO LOLO, a Citizen
 Speech in
 Favour of of *Pisa*, and an Advocate of the Con-
 the *Pisans* sistory, was their Orator. He said, "The
Florentines had kept the *Pisans* in an
 unjust and cruel Slavery for Eighty Years.
 That their City, which for many glori-
 ous Victories, even in the *East*, had ac-
 quired great Fame, and had been one
 of the most powerful and most magni-
 ficent Cities in *Italy*, was now by the
 Cruelty and Avarice of the *Florentines*
 become depopulated and desolate: For
 the greater Part of the Citizens, not
 able to bear so heavy a Yoke, had aban-
 doned *Pisa*, and were commendable for
 it; as the Misery of the remaining Part,
 detained by a natural Love of their
 Country, sufficiently testified. They partly
 by grievous Taxes, and partly through
 the unjust Rapine of private Men in
 Office, were reduced to the utmost Dis-
 tress, without any Means left to subsist;
 for with unheard of Injustice they were
 prohibited to trade, or exercise any Art
 but

but what was Mechanic; and were excluded from all Posts in the Government, even those into which Strangers were admitted: That their Oppressors were determined to destroy their Name, and extirpate their Race from the Face of the Earth: To compass which they had purposely omitted keeping up the Dykes, and cleaning the Ditches in their Territory; a Thing ever carefully attended to when they were their own Masters; as it would have been otherwise impossible to have prevented every Year that raging Sickneſs with which they are now afflicted, the Ground lying low, and ſubject to frequent Inundations: This had alſo occaſioned in all Parts the Ruin of Churches, Palaces, private and publick Edifices, erected by their Anceſtors with Magnificence and vaſt Coſt: That it was no Diſgrace to ancient and renowned Cities, if after a Series of many Ages they fell at laſt into Slavery; for it was by Fate ordained that all Things in this World ſhould ſuffer Changes: Therefore the Remembrance of their Nobility and Wealth ought

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ought rather to excite the Compassion
 than the Rage of their cruel Conquerors :

Every one should reflect, that the
 same ill Fortune may, nay must some
 time or other bring all Cities and Em-
 pires to an End. But the *Florentines*,
 far from acting on such Principles, have
 so inhumanly harrassed the *Pisans*, that
 not able to bear any longer so heavy
 a Yoke, are determined to a Man to
 quit their Country, or lay down their
 Lives, sooner than return under so im-
 pious a Government. He then desired
 with Tears (which he begged his Ma-
 jesty would look on as the Tears of all
 the *Pisans*) humbly prostrated at his
 Feet, that he would recollect with how
 much Piety and Justice he had restor-
 ed the *Pisans* to their Liberty, so long
 unjustly invaded ; and that, as became
 a resolute and magnanimous Prince he
 would preserve the invaluable Benefit he
 had procured, and chuse rather the Name
 of Redeemer of their City, than that of
 Minister of the Rapaciousness and cru-
 elty of the *Florentines*.

FRANCESCO

FRANCESCO SODERINI, then Bishop of *Volterra*, and afterwards Cardinal, replied with less Vehemence ; but endeavoured to prove, That the Title of the *Florentines* to *Pisa* was good and legal : He said, They had purchased it in the Year 1404, of *Gabriello Maria Visconti*, the then lawful Possessor : That the *Florentines* had no sooner taken Possession, than the *Pisans* by Violence expelled their Officers, and put them under the Necessity of undertaking a long War, which proved as successful as it was just, nor less glorious to the *Florentines* for their Mildness, than Victory : For when it was in their Power to let them perish with Hunger, they entered the Town heavier loaded with Provisions than Arms. That the *Pisans* had never gained any Territory on the Continent : They had not been able to conquer even the petty State of *Lucca*, which lay so near them, but were always straitened within a narrow Compass of Land. As for their maritime Power, it had been of no Duration : For by divine Justice, inflicted on

Soderini's
Speech.

A. D. 1495. on them for their Sins, infamous Deeds, and continual Discords, long before *Pisa* was bought by the *Florentines*, it was fallen from its Grandeur and Riches, depopulated, and become so weak, that *Jacopo Appiani*, an ignoble Country Lawyer, had been able to master it; and after enjoying for several Years an absolute Dominion, left it as an Inheritance to his Children: That very little Advantage accrued to the Republick from that City, which was only convenient, as being near the Sea; for the Revenues were so small and trifling, that they hardly exceeded the necessary Expences; the most that was collected was from foreign Traders, which was applied to the Benefit of the Port of *Livorno*: Nor were the Citizens of *Pisa* excluded from Employments more than any of the Inhabitants of the other Cities of their Dominion, who thought themselves happy, and were so, because they had not the Arrogance and the Obstinacy of the *Pisans*, whose Perfidiousness was turned into a Proverb all over *Tuscany*. If after they were conquered, many abandoned their Country, that must
be

be attributed to Pride, which would not permit them to submit, and not to the Administration, which was ever just and mild : Nor had *Pisa*, under the *Florentines*, diminished her Riches or Inhabitants : On the contrary, at an immense Expence, the Republic had regained the Port of *Livorno*, without which that City would have been deprived of all Trade, and many Necessaries : That all their other Complaints were as unjust ; for the *Florentines* had introduced into *Pisa* the Study of all Sciences, taken care of their Ditches, and used all Means to people the Town ; a Truth so notorious, that no Calumny could overthrow it. He said, It was commendable in every one to endeavour to mend his Fortune ; but every one ought also to be content with a reasonable Share : All Governments would be thrown into Confusion, if every Subject had it in his Power to be independent : That it was not his Business to direct *Charles*, the Most Christian King, how to act : He was known to be prudent and just, and therefore not to be biaſſed by unreasonable Complaints and false Assertions :

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tions: He made not the least doubt but his Majesty would be determined by what he had promised before his Army came into *Pisa*, and by what he had so solemnly swore to in *Florence*; and would consider that the greater a King is, the greater Glory he attains in making use of his Authority to preserve Faith and Justice.

IT was manifest that *Charles* was inclined to favour the *Pisans*; for he proposed there should be either a Suspension of Arms, till he had subdued *Naples*, or, till that Time, to have the *Pisan* Territory put into his Hands, when he engaged religiously to execute all he had stipulated. But the *Florentines* thinking they had good Reason to distrust the King, refused both these Expedients, and insisted on the immediate Performance of his Word.

CHARLES at last, seemingly complied, in order to induce them to advance the Payment of One Hundred and Seventy Thousand Crowns, which were not yet due. He sent the Cardinal of St. *Maló* to *Florence*, under the Colour of seeing his Orders

THE WARS IN ITALY. 241

Orders executed; but his private In-
structions were to give only flattering
Hopes till he had procured the Money,
and then to leave Things as he found
them.

THE *Florentines*, tho' aware of this, made no scruple of paying Forty Thousand Ducats, as the Time for the Payment of that Sum was near expired. As soon as the Cardinal had received the Money he went to *Pisa*, to put them, as he said, in Possession of that Town, but returned without making any Alteration; excusing himself, that the *Pisans* were so obstinate, that his Authority had no Weight; that he could not force them, having had no Commission from the King to use Violence; and that it was no ways proper for him, who was an Ecclesiastick, to embrace any Resolution that would produce an Effusion of Christian Blood. But he had taken care to augment the *French* Guard in the new Citadel, and would have placed Troops in the old Castle, had the *Pisans* given him Leave.

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Lodovico
send Suc-
cour to
Pisa.

THE Courage of the *Pisans* encreased every Day with their Strength. The Duke of *Milan* thought it necessary to protect them with a Body of Troops under the best General he could procure, which was *Lucio Malvezzo*; * but with his usual Dissimulation, pretended that this Affair was undertaken solely by the *Genoese*, without his Knowledge or Approbation. At the same time laying hold of all Opportunities to embarrass the *Florentines*, he sent secretly *Jacopo Apiano*, Lord of *Piombino* and *Giovanni Savelli* to the *Senese*, to encourage them not to part with *Montepulciano*, which had lately revolted from the *Florentines* to them, who kept Possession of it without any Regard to former Treaties.

The *Florentines*
uneasy at
their
Form of
Govern-
ment.

THE *Florentines* were engaged not only with the Care of this War, but were also anxious about settling their own Form of Government. Immediately after the King's Departure, a Parliament had been summoned, which, according

* *Giовio* says, that *Lucio* went to the Assistance of the *Pisans* with three hundred *Veteran* Foot, some Men in heavy Armour, and a Party of Light-Horse.

According to their Constitution, is an Assembly of the whole Body of the Citizens. They met in the large Square before the Palace to deliberate as usual, on what should be proposed by the chief Magistracy, and had agreed on a Government apparently popular, but in reality calculated to serve the Ambition and Power of a few.

THIS created an Uneasiness in the Minds of several of the Citizens, some of whom wanted a more extensive Liberty, while some particular great Men thought this Settlement an Obstruction to their private Views. The Dissatisfaction soon rose to such a Height, that the Parliament met again in order to make a new Alteration, and the Magistracy withdrawing into the Council-Chamber, *Paolo Antonio Soderini*, a wise and popular Citizen, spoke as follows.

“ IT would be very easy, worthy Citizens, to make it appear, that they who have writ on Civil Government, prefer that of a Prince or Nobles to a popular


Soderini's
Speech
before the
Magistracy
of Florence.

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lar one: Yet as a Spirit of Liberty is inherent and almost natural to this City, from a long Series of continual Equality in the Condition of its Citizens, an Equality absolutely necessary in a popular Government; I am of Opinion, that without Hesitation this ought by us to be preferred to all other Forms. This Speech may seem superfluous, as in all latter Consultations it has been already unanimously agreed, that the City should be governed by the Name and Authority of the People. But the Opinions are different in adjusting this very Point, and proceed from a Desire which some have of approaching as near as they can to that Form which was settled in the Republic before their Liberty was oppressed by the Family of the *Medicis*. Others (of which Number I own myself one) imagining a Government so ordered would have more the Name than the Reality of a popular Administration, alarmed at the Inconveniences which must necessarily flow from such a Settlement, desire a more perfect Form, by which a good Understanding amongst the

the Citizens, as well as their Safety, *A. D.*
might be preserved. This, according to *1495.*
Reason and former Experience, is not to
be procured in our City without a Go-
vernment intirely dependant on the Peo-
ple: But then it must be well ordered
and regulated, which cannot be com-
passed without attending particularly to
two Things. The first is, that all the Ma-
gistrates and inferiour Officers in Town
and Country, be chosen in a general
Assembly of all those, who, according
to our Laws, are in a Capacity to par-
take of the Government; and that with-
out the Approbation of such an Assem-
bly, no new Law should be enacted. In
this Manner it being out of the Power
of any particular Person to cabal, no one
will through Passion or Prejudice be ex-
cluded; but Places be distributed accord-
ing to Virtue and Merit; and therefore
every Citizen will strive by his good Be-
haviour to open himself a Way to Ho-
nours, and be induced to abstain from
Vice, from offering any Injury to his
Neighbour, and in his whole Depart-
ment to act in such a Manner, as to ac-

A. D.
 1495. quire the Love and Esteem of his Fellow-Citizens. It will not then be in the Power of any Individual or a few to make new Laws, and with the Authority of a Magistracy introduce a new Government; for an Alteration cannot then be obtained but by universal Consent.

THE second Point is, That important Resolutions, I mean such as have relation to Peace or War, to the Examination of new Laws, and Matters of the greatest Consequence, be treated of by a Magistracy of prudent and experienced Citizens, nominated and formed by the People, with ample Authority to act when they fit, independantly of them, in Affairs committed to their Determination: For such Affairs being above the Reach of common and unexperienced Understandings, they must be transacted by Men of Sagacity: Besides such Matters often require Dispatch and Secrecy, and therefore ought not to be debated in a publick Assembly. But this will no way disconcert the present Scheme, because
 the

the whole City will have the chusing of such a Magistracy. These two Things being provided for, the true popular Government is formed, the Liberty of the City fixed, and a right and lasting Establishment effected. Several other Particulars which may contribute to make the Government still more perfect, may be deferred to another Opportunity, when the confused Ideas with which the Minds of some People are now filled shall be rectified; for many amongst us, accustomed to the late Tyranny, have not a true Notion of a free State, nor do they understand what is necessary for the Preservation of Liberty; but as these Points are not so essential, they are better postponed to a more favourable Juncture. The Citizens having once begun to relish this Form, will every Day be more and more pleased with it; And whilst it is perfecting, it will support itself upon the two Foundations above-mentioned, which may now be laid, and what Effects they will produce, can not only be demonstrated by many solid Reasons, but plainly proved by Examples: For the Govern-

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ment of the *Venetians*, tho' composed of Nobles, yet these Nobles are no more than private Citizens; are so numerous, and of such different Qualities and Condition, that it must be allowed they participate of the popular, and in that part we may imitate them; for their Republic is founded on those two mentioned Principles, by Virtue of which it has preserved, for so many Ages, its Liberty, Union, and Civil Concord; and acquired so much Grandeur and Glory: Nor does this Union proceed from its Situation, as some have imagined; for in that Situation there might, and sometimes have existed Discords, and Seditions. But the Form of Government being so compact, and so well-proportioned in all its Parts, they were soon quelled; for such a Constitution must of Necessity produce such inestimable Effects.

THE Examples of our own Republic ought to direct us, as well as those of others: But then we must consider them in different Lights; because our City has never had such a Form: Our Constitution
has


has been subject to many Changes. If we ^{A. D.} consult our own History we shall find, that ¹⁴⁹⁵ sometimes by endeavouring the Destruction of our Tyrants, then by the Pride, Dissentions, and Ambition of a few; again, by the Fury of Factions, our State has been reduced to the lowest Ebb. Cities were built for the Quiet and Happiness of the Inhabitants; but the Fruits produced by our Government, instead of Peace and Tranquility, have been Confiscations of Estates, and Executions of our miserable Citizens. The present Establishment does not vary from that of former Times, so full of Calamities and Miseries, and which, after many Struggles, ended in Tyranny. We read, in antient Days, how the Duke of *Athens* enslaved the People; and, in ours, *Cosimo de Medici* did the same. Nor is it to be wondered at; for when the Gift of Places does not depend on the People, but is confined to a few, the Citizens then neglect entirely the public Welfare; some by declining Business, others giving themselves up to Pleasure and Licentiousness, from whence arise Factions and Conspiracies, certain

A. D. certain Forerunners of the Subversion of all
 1495. Republics and Governments.

How much more prudent is it then to set aside those Forms, which, by our own Reason and Experience, we know to be pernicious, and approach as near as we can to that, which, by the Example of others, we have found to be good and happy. For, forced by Truth, I must say, that if in our City a Government should be so modelled, as to have the supreme Authority lodged in a few Hands, ours then would be a Government of a few Tyrants, as much more detestable than that of a single one, as an Evil is more pernicious the more it is multiplied.

If there were no other Reason, this ought to direct you. Men cannot from the Variety of Opinions, Ambition, and diverse other Accidents, agree long together; and Discord, at all Times dreadful, would be more so at this Juncture, when you have sent into Exile so powerful a Citizen, when *Italy* has foreign Armies in its Bowels,

Bowels, breathing Slaughter and Destruction. A. D. 1495.



IT seldom, or perhaps never before, has been absolutely in the Power of this whole City to model itself: But since the Almighty has bestowed on us such a Blessing, let us improve it to the happy Establishment of our Liberties; let us render the Name of *Florence* glorious for Prudence, by seizing this Opportunity for settling a free Government, so well formed, that it may not only make you happy in regard to yourselves, but also happy in the Thoughts of transmitting to your Children, and, in them, to the latest Posterity, such a Treasure and Felicity, as neither you, nor your Ancestors ever enjoyed." Thus spoke *Pagolo Antonio*.

But *Guido Antonio Vespucci*, an able Civilian, and a Person of a fertile Imagination, and singular Capacity, was of a different Opinion; and replied in the following Manner,

IF

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“ IF it were true, most illustrious Citizens! That the Government, modell’d as propos’d by *Pagol Antonio Soderini* was to produce such good Effects, that Person would certainly be greatly to blame who should offer to oppose a Form, wherein Virtue, Merit, and Courage would be sure to find their Reward,

BUT I do not comprehend, how one can expect, that a Government compos’d intirely of a popular Power, can produce so much good. I am conscious, that Reason teaches, Experience shews, and the Authority of great Men confirms, that in no Multitude was ever to be found such Prudence, such Experience, such Order, as is sufficient to persuade us that they will prefer the Learned to the Ignorant, the Good to the Bad, and the experienced to those who were never employ’d in public Affairs. As one cannot from a Judge of a weak Capacity, hope for wise Decrees; so from a Populace full of Ignorance and Confusion, we cannot reasonably expect, unless by Chance, a prudent and just Deliberation.

liberation. What great Men, always *A. D.*
 employed in State Affairs, discern with *1495.*
 Difficulty, can never be distinguished by
 an unexperienced Multitude, confused in
 their Ideas, composed of Men of different
 Conditions, and influenced by different
 Customs, and whose Time is mostly
 occupied in mean Employments. The
 immoderate Conceit each of these will
 entertain of his own Abilities, will not
 permit him to rest satisfied with Employ-
 ments suitable to his Station; but will
 prompt him to aspire to Places of Impor-
 tance, and to intrude himself into Debates
 of the highest Consequence: For amongst
 us, more than in any other City, there is
 a want of Modesty to submit to those of
 a superior Merit and Knowledge. There-
 fore we shall seldom have proper Persons
 advanced to Employments, wherein Pru-
 dence, Virtue, and Courage are most
 required: On the contrary, the greatest
 Number of these will be filled by the
 most Ignorant: For they, being by much
 the major part, will put every thing in
 the Power of the least deserving, when
 Persons are to be advanced, not by their
 Merit,

A. D. Merit, but by the greatest Number of
 1495. Votes.

AGAIN, What Security have you, that, contented with the Form now proposed, tho' ever so prudent, they will not alter that Settlement by new Inventions and imprudent Laws, not to be endured by the Wife? This always may be dreaded in such a Government, but much more at this Juncture, when our City is just emerged from Bondage. For it is natural for Mankind to pass from one extreme to another. It may then happen, that a People, after freeing themselves from Tyranny, if not restrained, may precipitate into Licentiousness, which may justly be termed another kind of Tyranny: For a Government is tyrannical, when it confers on the Undeserving, what is due only to Merit: When it confounds all Degrees, without making any Distinction of Persons: And perhaps this Tyranny is the worst of the two, as much as Ignorance, directed neither by Authority, Law, nor Precedent, is more dangerous than the other Tyranny, which, tho' exercised

exercised with Violence, must still observe some Measure, and some sort of Decency in the Administration. A. D. 1495.

I CANNOT comprehend why the *Venetians* should be proposed as a Pattern for our Republick: Their Situation is different; they are accustomed to an antient, settled Form; and Things are so ordered, that the important Deliberations are in the Power of a few; and those People being, perhaps, not so lively as we, are more easily quieted and satisfied. Nor are the *Venetians* governed only by those two mentioned Systems: The more firmly to secure their Constitution, they have a perpetual Doge, and many other Ordinances, that would be powerfully opposed, if attempted to be introduced amongst us: For our City is not just sprung up, nor is its Institution new: Therefore the old Customs will often prevail over what might be more conducive to the common Welfare. The People imagining, that under the Colour of preserving Liberty, a new Tyranny is intended, will not easily come into different,
tho'

A. D. 1495. } tho' better Measures. A Body infected with malignant Humours, does not receive the same Benefit from Nourishment as one in perfect Health ; and the Nature of human Affairs is such, that they generally decline and grow worse : It is therefore more to be feared, that what is now ordered imperfectly, will rather degenerate, than with Time and Accidents ripen to Perfection.

BUT have we not Experience enough at home, without having recourse to foreign Examples ? Has this City ever been governed by the People without being torn to Pieces by Dissentions, that have often produced an immediate Change ? If we are desirous to inform ourselves by Examples, why do we not call to Mind the *Roman* Government ? When popular, it was so full of Tumults, that had it not been for the Wisdom of some few, united with the military Power, that Republic would have had but very short Existence. Why do we not recollect how the flourishing and powerful City of *Athens* was enslaved by
its

its own Citizens and Foreigners, solely by Means of material Affairs being left to the Determination of the Multitude? But I cannot comprehend why you should not be satisfied that a sufficient and permanent Liberty is not already provided for, in the manner we have settled with the Parliament; since every Thing is left to the Disposal of the Magistrates, who are not created for Life, nor elected by a few; but, according to the antient Custom of this City, the Qualified are left to the Chance of a popular Ballot. How, therefore, is it possible that in such an Election, either Faction or particular Friendship should any ways interfere? According to the present Institution, we are certain that Matters of Importance will be examined and directed by Men of Wisdom and Experience, who will govern with better Order and more Secrecy, than the Populace who are incapable of such Matters, and who are sometimes without Reason as profuse, as at others unnecessarily sordid, which Extremes will always occasion greater Expences and Dangers. As *Paolo Antonio* has rightly observed, the distempered State

A. D. of *Italy*, and of our City in particular,

1495. } much demands our present Attention.

What Imprudence would it then be, when the ablest Physicians, and the most experienced are necessary, to make use of the less able, and less experienced? On the whole, it is certain, that by giving the People a moderate Share of the Administration, you will govern them with more Tranquility, than by leaving every Thing absolutely in their own Disposal. That would render them insolent and stubborn, and put it for ever out of your Power to rule them with Mildness and wholesom Counsels.

In a Consultation like this, amongst a few of the most eminent Citizens, that Proposition would have been the likeliest to be carried, that confined the Government to a less Number; if, in the Counsels of Men, the Divine Authority had not been made to appear by the Mouth of *Girolamo Savonarola* of *Ferrara*. This Man was a Dominican Friar, had been a Preacher many Years in *Florence*, was famous for his Doctrine, and for a reput-

ed

ed Sanctity : He was looked on by most A. D. 1495
 People as a Prophet; for at the Time *Italy* was in the greatest Tranquility, he had often discoursed in his Sermons of the marching of foreign Armies into *Italy*, and Invasions which would greatly terrify the People; that neither Walls nor Armies would be able to resist their Power; asserting, at the same Time, that what he constantly advanced was not by Way of human Foresight, Learning, or political Observations; but purely by Divine Inspiration. He had also given some Hints of the Change of the *Florentine* Government, and now publicly testifying his Abhorrence of, and bitterly inveighing against the Form settled in the last Parliament, affirmed it was the Will of God, that a popular Government should be established in such a Manner, as not to leave it in the Power of a few to shake its Security, and oppress the Liberties of the People.

THE Reverence which was paid to his Name, joined to the Inclinations of many, had such an Influence, that the opposite Party could not withstand the Clamour;

A. D. and, therefore, after several Debates, it
 1495. was finally determined that a Council
 should be formed of the whole Body of
 the Citizens: But the low Populace (as
 was reported by Way of Derision all over
Italy, to be the Case) was not convened,
 but only those, who, according to the an-
 cient Laws, were qualified to participate
 of the Government.

IN this Council nothing else was to be
 treated of but the Election of all the Ma-
 gistrates for the City and State, the Rati-
 fication of Subsidies, and of the Laws for-
 merly enacted by the Magistrates and
 Privy-Council. Next to quell the present
 Ferment, and remove all Causes of fu-
 ture Discords, in Imitation of the *Athe-
 nians*, it was by public Decree ordered,
 that all past Transgressions and Treasons
 should be forgiven.

ON this Basis, perhaps, might have
 been erected a well regulated and solid
 Constitution, if the Amendments proposed
 by several wise Citizens, had been then
 admitted; but as this could not be effected
 without

without the Consent of many, who, for ^{A. D.} their past Behaviour, were suspected, they ^{1495.} were not mentioned; and it was agreed for the present, only to settle the Grand Council, as the Bulwark of their recovered Liberty; and put off the Amendments, till those, who at present had not Capacity, nor Sense enough to judge properly, should, by Experience, become sensible they were necessary for the public Welfare.

THE King of *France* in the mean Time, *Charles* after the Acquisition of *Naples*, to com- ^{continues} plete his Victory, applied himself princi- ^{to reduce} pally to two Things; one was the Re- ^{the King-} duction of the two Castles *Nuovo* and ^{dom of} *dell' Uovo*; for the Tower of *San Vincentio*, that guarded the Port, he had already taken with Ease; The other, to reduce the Remainder of the Kingdom; in compassing which, Fortune accompanied him with her usual Favours; for Castle *Nuovo* (the Habitation of the *Neapolitan* Kings) situated on the Borders of the Sea, by the Treachery and Avarice of Five Hundred *Germans* in Garrison, surrendered without

S 3

Resistance,

A. D. 1495. Resistance, on their being permitted to retire safe, and loaded with what Treasure they could carry away*. Great Plenty of Provisions was found in the Castle, which *Charles* inconsiderately distributed amongst some of his People, without reflecting what might be the Consequence.

CASTLE *dell Uovo* was founded on a Rock in the Sea, formerly joined to the Land, till separated by *Lucullus*, and is now united by a narrow Bridge. It lies at so small a Distance from the Town, that the Artillery might play upon it, and damage the Walls, but could not hurt the Rock; nevertheless, after a few Days Siege, the Garrison agreed to surrender, if not succoured in a Week's Time.

The Kingdom of Naples reduced by the French. SEVERAL different Parties were sent about to subdue the rest of the Kingdom; but there was little room for Action, for the Barons and Magistrates of the Towns contending who should be first to acknowledge

* *Giovio* writes that the royal Treasure, carried away by the *Germans*, exceeded the Value of a Million of Golden Ducats.

ledge their new Sovereign; and the Governors of most of the Fortresses, either out of Inclination or Fear, gave them up at the first Summons. The Citadel of *Gaeta*, strong and well provided with all Necessaries, after a weak Resistance, surrendered at Discretion; so that in a few Days, with a wonderful Facility, *Charles* made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, excepting the Isle of *Ischia*, the Citadels of *Brindisi* and *Gallipoli*, in the Province of *Puglia*; and in *Calabria*, the Citadel of *Reggio*, situated on that Point of *Italy* which faces *Sicily*.

BUT soon after the People of *Turpia* and *Mantia*, who had been some of the first in setting up the *French* Ensigns, on being apprized that their Towns were disposed of to Favourites, revolted again to their former Lord, being determined not to subject themselves to any one under the Degree of a King. Their Example was followed by the Town of *Brindisi*, where the Inhabitants were exasperated at the little Regard *Charles* had paid to their Deputies; and as he had neglected to send a

A. D.

1495.

Garrison, the Officers in the Citadel, who held out for *Ferdinando*, took the City into their Protection. The Magistrates of *Otranto* finding also no Person was appointed to receive their Allegiance, declared once more for the *Arragonians*.

BUT all the Barons and great Men of the Kingdom came to pay their Homage to their new Sovereign, excepting a very few, who retired into *Sicily*, after their Estates had been confiscated and given away; and the Marquis of *Pescara*, Governor of Castle *Nuovo*, who followed *Ferdinando*, as soon as he received Intelligence of the treacherous Designs of the *Germans*.

Charles
treats with
Federigo
Ferdinan-
do's Uncle

CHARLES, to secure this vast Acquisition, was desirous to treat with Don *Federigo*, and had sent him a Passport before the taking of Castle *Nuovo*. *Federigo* had resided in *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis XI.* and was very much respected for his Affinity to the Royal Family of *Naples*. The King told him, that in Case *Ferdinando* would give up what little remained unconquered, he

he would grant him vast Possessions in *France*, such as might prove a sufficient Recompence for his Losses. But *Federigo* being apprized of his Nephew's Intentions not to accept of any Terms, but such as would constitute him intire Master of *Calabria*, very gravely replied, since God, Fortune, and the Will of the People, had concurred to bestow on his most Christian Majesty the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinando* would not resist the Dispositions of Providence, nor be any ways ashamed to submit to so great and mighty a Prince; but, like the rest, be under his Obedience, and at his Devotion, provided some Part of the Kingdom, hinting at *Calabria*, was assigned him. If this was granted, he should there pass his Days, not as King, but as one of his Barons, and adore the Clemency and Generosity of a Monarch, in whose Service, sometime or other, he hoped to have an Opportunity of shewing that Resolution, which his ill Fortune had not permitted him to exercise in his own Behalf. He observed that nothing could be more glorious than such a Concession: It would be

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be parallel to the Deeds of the ancient Heroes; who, by such noble Acts of Resignation, had rendered their Fame immortal, and obtained from the People divine Honours: A Concession not less safe than honourable. For after *Ferdinando's* Submission, the Kingdom would be settled without any Danger of a Change; which proves often the Case when new Acquisitions, obtained by force of Arms, are not secured by Moderation and Prudence; many unforeseen Accidents may then arise, and render abortive the Fruits of a Victory. But *Charles*, judging it by no Means adviseable to give up to his Competitor any Part that might endanger the rest, *Federigo* was dismissed.

Ferdinando
retires
into *Sicily*.

WHEN *Ferdinando* heard of the Surrender of the Castles, he left the Care of the Citadel of *Ischia* to *Inico Davalo*, who, as well as his Brother *Alfonso*, like an Officer of incorrupted Fidelity, retired into *Sicily* with the Sixteen ill-armed Gallies, he had taken with him from *Naples*, to be there at hand, to countenance and assist any Rising in his Favour,

CHARLES

CHARLES, in order to deprive his Enemies of a Place which might greatly annoy him, had sent to *Ischia* those Forces which by this Time were arrived with his Fleet in the Port of *Naples*. The Town was abandoned on their Appearance, but it was not thought proper to attack the Fort, being too well fortified to be taken by their small Forces. This put the King on sending for other Vessels from *Provence* and *Genoa*; for unless he made himself Master of that Island, he could not secure the Seas from *Ferdinando's* Gallies. But Diligence and Care did not keep Pace with his good Fortune: His Orders were not readily complied with, but executed with great Negligence and Confusion. The *French* in general were become insolent by so much Prosperity, and giving themselves up to Pleasure and Diversions, left to Chance Matters of the greatest Moment; whilst those who were in Favour procured improper Grants, without any Regard to the Honour, Dignity, or Interest of their Prince.

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
Gemin's
Death.

ABOUT this Time died at *Naples*, *Gemin* the *Ottoman*, to the great Concern of the King, who expected he would have been very useful in the War he intended to wage against the Turks. It was firmly believed that his Death proceeded from a slow Poison, given him by the Pope, before he left *Rome*; because he had in a manner been forced from him, and thereby deprived of the yearly Pension of Forty Thousand Crowns: Thus he gratified his Revenge, by hindering others from reaping that Profit which he could no longer enjoy himself; or perhaps he envied the King's Prosperity, and feared his Success against the Turk, least after all his Victories, some great Men, not out of Zeal, but from private Views, should prevail on him to turn his Thoughts on a Reformation of the Church; for the Discipline was so degenerated from the ancient Customs, that the Authority of the Christian Religion had greatly declined; and every one expected it would do so more and more during this Pontificate, acquired by ill Practices, and administered with worse, than were ever known or heard

heard of. Nor were there wanting those A. D. 1495. who believed (for the iniquitous Life of this Pope made the greatest Villanies credible) that *Bajazet*, on hearing of the King of *France's* Expedition into *Italy*, had with a large Sum of Money bribed *Alexander*, by the Means of *Bucciardo*, to put *Gemin* to Death.

BUT *Charles* did not for this give over the Thoughts of his *Turkish* Enterprize, but sent into *Greece* the Archbishop of *Durazzo*, a Native of *Albania*, who had given him Hopes, through his Interest, to create Commotions in those Parts. However, new Incidents obliged him to turn his Mind to other Objects.

IT has been said, that the Desire of Lodovico usurping the Dutchy of *Milan*, together alarm'd at with the Fear of *Piero de Medici*, and Charles's the *Arragonians*, were the Motives which Progress. induced *Lodovico* to procure this Invasion of the *French*: But after obtaining his ambitious Views, by the Destruction of his Enemies, he was seized with a second Fear, much more just and reasonable than

A. D. 1495  than the former, namely, of the immediate Slavery of himself and all the *Italians*; too probable an Event, were the King of *France* to remain Master of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was in Hopes he would have met with more Difficulties at *Florence*, but observing how easily he had agreed with that Republick, with how much Facility overcome the Opposition made by the Pope, and entered the Kingdom of *Naples* without any Obstacle, his Danger seemed every Day to encrease.

As also
the *Vene-*
tians.

T H E same Terror began also to seize the Minds of the *Venetians*, who had hitherto been steady in their Resolution of being neuter; and with great Circumspection had abstained not only from acting, but from all Appearances which might render them suspected of any Inclination to favour one Side more than the other: For this Reason they had not appointed their Ambassadors *Loderano* and *Domenico Trevisano* to compliment the King till he had passed the *Alps*, and then detained them till he was arrived at *Florence*.

BUT

BUT now alarmed at this Torrent of *A. D.* Prosperity, and seeing the King, like ^{1495.} Lightning, make his Way through all *Italy* without Resistance, they began to be sensible that the Destruction of the *Ar-ragonians* rendered their own Situation dangerous, and fearful that their Neighbours Ruin would quickly be followed by their own. The occupying of *Pisa*, with the Castles of the *Florentines*, leaving a Garrison in *Siena*, and in the Pope's Territories, were shrewd Tokens of *Charles's* further Designs.

TERRIFIED with these Considerations, they willingly listened to *Lodovico's* Proposals; who, as soon as the King left *Tuscany*, began to treat with, and invite them to join him, and save all *Italy* from becoming a Province to *France*. It was thought, that if *Charles* had met with any Difficulties in his March to *Naples*, the *Venetians*, at *Lodovico's* Instigation, would have declared against him: But the Victory following so suddenly, put an Obstacle to all that was doing to prevent it.

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CHARLES suspected the Duke of *Milan's* Intentions, and therefore took into his Service *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, who was his Enemy, as being at the Head of the *Guelf* Party in *Milan*, and assigned him an Hundred Lances, with an ample Salary. He next, with many fair Promises, brought into his Interest the Cardinal *Fregoso*, and *Objetto del Fiesco*, powerful Instruments for raising Commotions in *Genoa*, and refused to grant *Lodovico* the promised Investiture of the Principality of *Taranto*; asserting he could not lay any Claim to that Promise, until the whole Kingdom was entirely subdued.

THESE Proceedings gave *Lodovico* a Handle to lay an Embargo on Twelve Gallies that were equipping for the King at *Genoa*; and also to order that no armed Vessels should be taken into the *French* Service in that Port. The King made great Complaints of this Usage, which, he said, rendered him incapable of getting together a Fleet sufficient to take *Ischia*.

THE

THE *Venetians* and *Lodovico*, apprehending their Danger to be greater than in reality it was, determined to put their Schemes in Execution, and engaged the more readily as they were sure of powerful Confederates : For not only the terrified Pontiff, but also *Maximilian Cæsar*, who on many Accounts was an Enemy to *France*, and had received several personal Injuries from *Charles*, were determined to unite their Forces against him : But what the Senate and *Sforza* relied mostly upon, was the Assistance of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Sovereigns of *Spain*.

IN their late Treaty with the King of *France*, they had engaged not to molest him in the Acquisition of *Naples*, solely to get Possession of the *Roussillon* : For, cunningly to evade their Engagement, (if the Report be true which they gave out) they pretended there was a Clause in the Articles, by which they obliged themselves to nothing that might Prejudice the Church ; and therefore if the Pope complained that his Right of

A. D. 1495. Fief in the Kingdom of *Naples* suffered by this Change, they were at Liberty to espouse his Cause. They added, That it was also inserted in the Articles, they would not oppose the King in the Acquisition of *Naples*, provided he had a good and just Title.

BUT be this as it will, certain it is, that as soon as they got Possession of the *Roussillon*, they gave Hopes of their Assistance to the *Arragonians*, and earnestly underhand intreated the Pope to protect them. They begged of the King of *France*, first in a friendly manner, as desirous of his Glory, and out of Zeal for Religion, that he would turn his Arms against the *Turks*, and not molest any Christian Power; but afterwards pressed the same with more Vehemence, and in Terms more suspicious, according to the Progress he made in *Italy*. And that their Representations might be accompanied with greater Weight, and also to convince the Pope and the *Arragonians* of their Sincerity, under colour of securing *Sicily*, they had prepared a Squadron;
which,

which, however, did not arrive till *Naples* *A. D.*
 was lost ; and, according to *Spanish* ^{1495.}
 Custom, this mighty Armada was found
 to be a Rhodomontade ; for there were
 on board but Eight Hundred Gennets,
 and a Thousand *Spanish* Foot.

THEY proceeded in this dissembling
 manner till the *Colonnese* had occupied
Ostia, and the Threats uttered against
 the Pope gave them a more plausible
 Reason to discover what they had already
 conceived in their Minds. They then
 (which was before the King left *Florence*)
 publicly declared by their Ambassador
Antonio Fonseca, that, according to a lauda-
 ble Custom amongst Christian Princes,
 they would take under their Protection
 the Pope and the Kingdom of *Naples*,
 which was a Fief of the *Roman* Church.
 At the same time they began to treat
 with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan*;
 and, after the Flight of the *Arragonians*,
 solicited, that for the common Safety, they
 would join with them in an Alliance against
 the *French*.

A. D. 1495. *A*T last, in the Month of *April*, in *Venice*, whither all the Ambassadors had resorted, a Confederacy was concluded between the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the Sovereigns of *Spain*, * the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*. By the Articles which were published, it appeared, that the only Intent of this League was to protect each others Dominions, and all Princes were invited to accede to it. But as they were unanimous, that *Charles* should not keep Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was stipulated in the secret Articles, that the *Spaniards* who were in *Sicily* should assist *Ferdinando*, in order to reinstate him, which, as was apprehended, might be effected with Ease; the Inhabitants of *Calabria* having already invited him to come over; that the *Venetians* should at the same Time attack the maritime Coasts of the Kingdom with their Fleet; that the Duke of *Milan*, to prevent fresh Succours from *France*, should possess himself of *Asti*, where the Duke of *Orleans* resided with

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* After *Ferdinando* had married *Isabella*, they were called by the *Italian* Historians, the Kings of *Spain*.

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a few Troops; and the King of the Ro-
mans and the Kings of *Spain* should be
 allowed by the other Confederates a cer-
 tain Sum of Money, the better to enable
 them to undertake this War. All the
Italian Potentates, but in a particular
 manner the *Florentines*, and the Duke of
Ferrara, were solicited to join in the
 Alliance.

THE Duke of *Ferrara*, before the
 Publication of the Treaty, pretending to
 be neutral, absolutely refused to take up
 Arms against the King of *France*; but at
 the same time, with *Italian* Caution,
 permitted his Son *Alfonso* to go into the
 Service of the Duke of *Milan* with a
 Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and
 gave him the Title of Lieutenant-General.

THE *Florentines* had many strong
 Reasons for accepting the great Offers
 that were made them: For as soon as
 the Treaty was divulged, *Lodovico Sforza*
 engaged, that the whole Strength of the
 League should protect their State against
 the King, if he offered to attack them

A. D. 1495. in his Return, and also assist them in recovering *Pisa* and *Livorno*.

THE *Florentines* had many other Inducements to comply with this Request of the Allies: For the King paid less Regard to his Promises and Oaths, than to the Counsels of some of his Favourites, who made him believe, that the Instant they were freed from any Dependance on him, they would unite with the rest of the *Italians* against him; on this Persuasion he had neither restored the Castles, nor put them in Possession of *Pisa*, or its Territory. The Cardinal of St. *Maló* very faintly opposed these Counsels, altho' he had received a large Sum of Money from the *Florentines* to patronize their Cause, and promote their Interest; which he took little care of, not only on this, but also on many other Occasions.

THE King had given Proofs of the small Value he set on their Friendship, when their Ambassadors complained of the Rebellion of *Montepulciano*, and desired him to oblige the *Senese* to restore it;
for

for he answered with a Sneer, " What A. D. 1495.
 can I do, if your own Subjects rebel, on
 account of their Ill-usage ? " Notwith-
 standing all these Provocations, the *Flo-*
rentines would not suffer their Resentment
 to get the better of their Judgment ; but on
 various Considerations were determined
 not to hearken to the Proposals of the
 Confederates. They were unwilling to
 run any Risque from the King's Displeasure
 in his Return, and had some Hopes of
 procuring the Restoration of their Towns.
 Besides, they trusted little to the fair Pro-
 mises of the Allies ; being satisfied they
 were hated by the *Venetians* for opposing
 their Undertakings ; and well knowing
 that *Lodovico* himself aspired to the Do-
 minion of *Pisa*,

THE Credit of the *French* was by this III Con-
 Time very much sunk in the Kingdom of duct of the
Naples ; for, by giving themselves up to French.
 Diversions, and leaving the Government to
 Chance, they had neglected to expel the
Arragonians from the few Places they
 possessed, which might have easily been
 compassed, had they pursued their good

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Fortune. Many Reasons contributed to encrease the People's Discontent; for although the King had given Marks of his Generosity, on several Occasions, by granting in all Parts of the Kingdom, such Privileges and Exemptions, as would have lessened the Royal Revenue above Two Hundred Thousand Crowns a Year, yet other Matters were not ordered with the Prudence that was necessary.

CHARLES was naturally very indolent, and left the Management of all weighty Affairs to his Ministers, who, either thro' Ignorance or Avarice, threw every Thing into Confusion; The Barons were not treated with the Respect due to their Rank, nor rewarded according to their Merit, unless by Accident: They were admitted with Difficulty to the King's Presence; no Regard was paid to the different Degrees of Quality; and no Pains taken to confirm the Disaffection of those who were already ill-disposed towards the *Arragonians*. Many Difficulties were raised to protract the Restitution of the forfeited Estates that had been taken from

from those of the *Anjouin* Faction, and other Barons expelled by old *Ferdinando*. A. D. 1495.
 No Favours were bestowed without Bribes, and many Persons, without Reason, were displaced; Posts of Profit, and most of the Crown Lands, were distributed amongst the *French*, to the great Mortification of the *Neapolitans*.

THESE Proceedings created great Un-
 easiness in the Minds of the People, especially when they considered, that the Government of the *Arragonians*, though severe, yet had been tempered with Regularity and Prudence, and that they had been mistaken as to the Benefits they expected from this Change: To this they added the natural Vanity of the *French*, encreased by their Victories, which inspired them with a Contempt for all the *Italians*; and their Insolence, and rude Behaviour in the Houses where they were quartered, not only in *Naples*, but all over the Kingdom, were become insupportable.

THIS unexpected Treatment had intirely alienated the Affections of the People

A. D. 1495. ple, and converted their former Affection into violent Hatred ; and, on the contrary, their Averſion to the *Arragonians* was turned into Eſteem. They compaſſionated *Ferdinando*, from whoſe Virtue they had Reaſon to have expected great Achievements : They called to mind his laſt Speech, delivered with ſo much Mildneſs and Reſolution : In fine, they wanted nothing but an Opportunity to replace on the Throne that Family, to whoſe Deſtruction they had ſo lately contributed. Even the odious Name of *Alfonſo* was now become agreeable : They qualified with the Name of Juſtice, that Severity, which, both in his own, and his Father's Reign, was termed Cruelty ; and applauded, as the Sincerity of an upright Heart, what was reputed Pride and Haughtineſs. This is the common Temper of the Vulgar, who are inclined to hope for more than they ought, and impatient under the Weight of even neceſſary Burdens, are ſoon tired of the preſent, and ever wiſh for Novelties ; eſpecially the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Naples*, who are remarkable

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remarkable in *Italy* for their Inconstancy, and Desire of Change.

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THE King, before the forming of the above-mentioned League, was determined to return into *France*, more out of Levity, and to please his Courtiers, who vehemently wished it, than out of any prudent Motive; for in his new Kingdom many important Affairs were not yet settled, nor could the Victory be deemed compleat, till the Whole was subdued.

The King resolves on his Return into *France*.

WHEN the Articles of this new Confederacy came to the King's Knowledge, they gave him a great Deal of Uneasiness. He called a Council to advise what was proper to be done upon such an unexpected Event; every one agreed that, for many Ages, there had not been formed so powerful an Alliance against any one Prince in *Europe*. His Council was of Opinion, they should hasten their Departure for *France*, where alone they could make suitable Preparations; and the longer they staid, the greater Difficulties must arise, by giving Time to the Enemy to fall upon

A. D. upon them unprepared. Besides, it was
 1495. already given out, that a great Number
 of *Germans* were marching into *Italy*, and
 that *Maximilian* would command them in
 Person : They advised, that a new Body of
 Troops should march out of *France* to
Assi to preserve that City, and Means
 should be used to oblige the Duke of *Mi-*
lan to keep at Home, and not stir out of
 his own Country.

IN the same Council it was settled, that
 all proper Methods should be taken to se-
 parate the Pope from the rest of the Al-
 lies, and to dispose him to grant the In-
 vestiture of the Kingdom; for notwith-
 standing his solemn Promise, when his
 Majesty was in *Rome*, he had ever after
 refused it, pretending his Promise was
 made only on Condition that it should not
 prejudice the Claims of any other Prince.

Charles
sends
Troops
into Pisa.

BUT these weighty Matters did not put
 the Affairs of *Pisa* out of the King's
 Mind, who wished, for many Reasons,
 to have that City in his Power and Dis-
 posal ; therefore, as he apprehended the
 Citadel

Citadel of that Town might be endangered by the new Alliance, on the Return of the *Pisan* Ambassadors, who were at his Court, he sent with them a Body of Six Hundred *French* Infantry. They, like the rest of their Countrymen, soon conceived an Affection for the *Pisans*, and after receiving a Sum of Money, in hopes of Booty, without the King's Orders, they went to assist at the Siege of *Librafatta*. On their Way they met *Lucio Malvezzo*, who had broke up that Siege for want of Troops, but joining these, he went back and took the Town and Castle.

THE *Florentines* were not able to succour *Librafatta*, because the Waters of the River *Secchia* had overflowed the Country, and they durst not venture to go a round-about Way by the Walls of *Lucca*, because that Republic was entirely in the Interest of the *Pisans*. The *French* Officers put a Garrison of their own in *Librafatta*, and, with the Remainder of their Men over-run the neighbouring Villages, as declared Enemies to the *Florentines*, who made grievous Complaints to the

A. D. 1495. the King. He promised on his Return to redress all their Grievances, and advised them to wait with Patience for so little a Time.

Part of the
French
Army left
to guard
the King-
dom of
Naples.

BUT *Charles* met with unforeseen Accidents ; for his Army being dispersed over the Kingdom, he found he had not a sufficient Force to conduct him to *Asti*, through the Allied Army, and it was necessary to leave Part of his Forces behind him to secure his new Acquisitions: But the Safety of his Person being his chiefest Care, he provided but indifferently for the Preservation of his Conquest, and left only one half of the *Swiss*, part of the Infantry, Eight Hundred *French* Lances, and about Five Hundred *Italians*, who had been enlisted by the Prefect of *Rome*, by *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Antonello Savelli*.

THESE Commanders had been rewarded with a good Share in the Distribution of the Towns and confiscated Estates, especially the *Colonnas* ; for on *Fabritio Charles* had bestowed the Territories

tories of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*, lately pos-
 sessed by *Virginio Orfini*; and on *Pros-* A. D.
1495.
pero the Dutchy of *Trajetto*, and the City
 of *Fondi*, with many other Castles belong-
 ing to the Family of the *Gaetani*; as also
Monte Fortino, with the neighbouring Vil-
 lage, taken from the *Conti*: He therefore
 had Reason to expect that these and several
 other Barons, whom he had enriched,
 would exert themselves, and unite with
 his Troops, in Case of Danger, as their
 own Interest would be concerned in sup-
 porting his, and especially the Prince of
Salerno, whom he had restored to the
 Office of Admiral.

GILBERT DE MONPENSIER was ap-
 pointed Lieutenant of the Kingdom; he was
 a Prince of the Blood, and had the Repute
 of being a brave General. Many other
 Officers of Note, whom the King had
 obliged, were dispersed about the King-
 dom: The chief of these were *Obigni*,
 Governor of *Calabria*, and Grand-Consta-
 ble; the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, created
 Governor of *Gaeta*, and Grand-Chamber-
 lain; and *Gratiano* an experienced Com-
 mander,

A. D. 1495 } mander, to whom was committed the Care of *Abruzzo*. The King promised to send them very speedily Reinforcements and Money ; for he left an Assignment for no other Cash, than the Produce of the Finances, which was very precarious, the *Arragonian* Name gaining daily new Credit in many Places.

Ferdinando in Calabria. BEFORE *Charles's* Departure, *Ferdinando* had left *Sicily*, and was landed in *Calabria* with the *Spanish* Soldiers ; many of the Inhabitants of those Districts immediately flocking about him, he soon made himself Master of the City of *Reggio*, the Castle having always held out for him : At the same time the *Venetian* Fleet, commanded by *Antonio Grimani*, a Person of great Authority in the Republic, appeared on the Coasts of *Puglia*. But neither these, nor many other Indications of a sudden Change, were sufficient to put off, or retard the King's Return. 'Tis incredible the Eagerness he and all his Court expressed to return to *France* ; as if Fortune, which had so visibly assisted them

them in that Conquest, was alone sufficient to preserve it.

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THE Islands of *Ischia* and *Lipari*, tho' contiguous to *Sicily*, belonged to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and were in *Ferdinando's* Possession. *Reggio* was now recovered, as was *Terra Nuovo*, and its Citadel, with some other Forts and Villages in *Calabria*; *Brindisi*, whither *Federigo* had retired, *Gallipoli*, *Mantia*, and *Turpia*, were likewise in the Hands of the *Arragonians*.

BEFORE the King left *Naples*, he began to treat with the Pope, not without some Hopes of Success. *Alexander's* Agent, on this Occasion, was Cardinal St. *Dionigi*, and Monf. *Franzi*, the King's Minister. All his Majesty required was the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that if his Holiness had Reasons not to declare in his Favour, he would not at least join his Enemies, but admit him into *Rome* as a Friend.

ALEXANDER at first seemed willing to comply; but on farther Reflection, not

U

being

A. D.

1495

being able to persuade himself that the King could be safely depended upon, and judging it imprudent to disoblige the Allies, he started new Difficulties concerning the Investiture, in order to break off the Treaty. The King endeavoured to remove them, by submitting to take the Investiture, with the Clause insisted on, *viz. Without Prejudice to any one's Right*. But the Pope then replied, he would first have the Right judicially examined.

ALEXANDER was sensible his Refusal must irritate the King to the last Degree ; therefore, to prevent his Entrance into *Rome*, he desired the *Venetians* and *Lodovico* to send him a Body of Troops : They instantly dispatched to his Assistance a Thousand Light-Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, and promised him also a Thousand Men at Arms ; but soon after they began to apprehend it dangerous to lessen their Army so much, part thereof being already employed against *Asti* : Besides, they distrusted the Pope's Steadiness, on recollecting, that after sending for *Ferdinando* to come into *Rome*, on *Charles's* Arrival, he

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he had shamefully dismissed him. On these Considerations they recalled those Forces, and persuaded the Pope rather to retire into some strong Place, than, by Undertaking the Defence of *Rome*, expose himself to an unnecessary Peril; for the King's Situation was such, that he could neither make any Stay in that City, nor leave behind him any Troops to secure it. People imagined these Proceedings might disoblige his Holiness, and induce him to espouse the *French* Interest.

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1495.

CHARLES had not as yet, with the usual Ceremonies, assumed the Royal Ensigns; therefore, a few Days before his Departure, he was crowned in the Cathedral, and received the Oaths of Allegiance. The People were represented by *Joviano Pontano*, who gave no small Credit to the Solemnity; for he was a Person of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and had been Secretary to the *Arragonian* Kings, who entertained so high an Opinion of his Merit, that he had been made Tutor to *Alfonso*. It was thought, nevertheless, that to enforce and

Charles
crowned
King of
Naples.

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1495.

display his Oratory, or to render himself more agreeable to the *French*, he expatiated too copiously on the Faults of those Kings who had exalted him: Which proves, that on some Occasions it is very difficult to observe ourselves those Precepts of moral Virtue, which we endeavour so earnestly, and with so much Reason to inculcate upon others.

Departs
from *Naples*.

ON the 20th Day of *May*, the King left *Naples*, taking with him Eight Hundred Lances, a Guard of Two Hundred Gentlemen, *Trivulzi* with a Hundred Lances, Three Thousand *Swiss*, a Thousand *French*, and a Thousand *Gascons*, giving Orders to *Camillo Vitelli* and his Brother to join him in *Tuscany*, with Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, and for the Fleet to return to *Livorno*.

The Case
of *Virginio Orsini*,
and Count
Pittiglano.
no.

VIRGINIO ORSINI, and the Count of *Pittiglano*, followed on their Parole, but complained they were unjustly detained, because when they surrendered, their Messenger had not only been promised a Pass, but the King had signed one with his

his own Hand : That they being informed of this by a Messenger, before the Pass was signed by the Secretaries, at the first Summons had erected in *Nola* the King's Standard, and delivered the Keys to the *French* Officer, who came with a few Horse, although they had Four Hundred Men in Garrison, and could have made a Resistance. They then pleaded their Family's Attachment to the Crown of *France* : That they had ever been of the *Guelf* Party, for which Reason they had so readily admitted the King into their Dominions, as soon as he entered the *Roman* Territory ; and therefore insisted it was neither reasonable nor just they should be deem'd Prisoners. But they were answered, that a Pass, though granted and signed by the King, was of no Force, till corroborated with the Royal Seal, signed by the Secretaries, and delivered to the Party. That this had ever been in all Countries the ancient Rule and Standard in Concessions of that Kind : The Reason was, that unguarded Expressions from the Prince, who is supposed to be continually engaged in a Multiplicity of Business, and might

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not be well instructed in Facts, should be regulated by this Form : That the Motive they gave for their Surrender was not the true one ; they had acted out of Necessity and Fear ; for it was not at that Time in their Power either to defend themselves by Force of Arms, or save themselves by Flight ; all the Country about *Nola* being occupied by the *French* : That what they alledged by way of Merit was false, and, for their Honour, had better not been mentioned ; it being well known, that not voluntarily, but to avoid Danger, they abandoned the *Arragonians* in their utmost Distress, though they had loaded them with Favours, and opened their Gates to the King, who surprized them at a Time they were in the Enemies Pay, and without a Pass, which by the Laws of War constituted them legal Prisoners.

THESE Reasons supported by the Power of *Ligni*, and the Authority of the *Colonnas*, ever Rivals to the *Orsini* Family, prevented their being released, and determined the King to give Orders they

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they should follow him, with Hopes, how-
 ever, of being set at Liberty as soon as ^{A. D. 1495.}
 they arrived at *Asli*.

THE Pope, by Reason of the bad The Pope
 Usage he had met with from the Confe-^{retires}
 derates, continued to treat with *Charles*, ^{from}
 and had given him some Hopes of a Meet-
 ing at *Rome*: Yet his Fears got the bet-
 ter, and two Days before the King's Ar-
 rival, accompanied by the College of Car-
 dinals, Two Hundred Men at Arms, a
 Thousand Horse, and Three Thousand
 Foot, he retired to *Orvieto*, after leaving
 a sufficient Garrison in Castle St. *Angelo*, and
 creating the Cardinal of St. *Anastasia* his Le-
 gate, to receive and compliment the King.

CHARLES entered *Rome* by *Trafte-* Charles
vere, to avoid passing under Castle St. *An-* enters
gelo, and took up his Quarters in the Sub-
burbs, refusing to lodge in the *Vatican*,
 which had been prepared for his Recep-
 tion.

ALEXANDER went to *Perugia*, as
 soon as he was informed of the King's

A. D. Approach to *Viterbo*, notwithstanding he
 1495. had promised to meet him between that
 Town and *Orvietto*; and had *Charles* taken
 that Rout and follow'd him, he was de-
 termined to advance to *Ancona*, and sail
 from thence to some Place of Safety.

THE King, notwithstanding these
 Provocations, gave up the Citadels of *Ci-
 vita Vecchia* and *Terracina*, reserving only
Ostia, which he put under the Care of
 the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vincola*: He
 then marched through the Ecclesiastical
 Dominions, as through a friendly Coun-
 try, without committing any Hostilities,
 excepting at *Toscanella*, where his Van
 being refused Entrance, they took the
 Town by Assault, plundered it, and put
 several to the Sword.

*Charles at
 Siena.*

CHARLES, for what Reason could
 never be known, staid six Days at *Siena*,
 though the Cardinal of *St. Piero in Vin-
 cola*, who had followed him thither, and
Trivulzi, remonstrated how dangerous it
 might prove to give the Enemy Time to
 encrease, and unite their Forces: Nor
 did

did he make any sort of Amends for this Loss of Time, by any prudent Resolution. In *Siena* a Consultation was held concerning the Castles which he had so often solemnly engaged, and even now on his March promised to restore to the *Florentines*. To obtain them, they offered the Payment not only of Thirty Thousand Ducats, which were the Residue of what was to be paid by Agreement, but also to lend him Seventy Thousand more, and to send *Francesco Secco*, their General, with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot, to escort him to *Asti*.

ONE would imagine the Necessity he had for Money, the Prospect of augmenting his Army, a Regard to his Royal Word, and Oaths, Reasons which now induced the greatest part of his Council to persuade him to give up all but *Pietra Santa*, and *Sarzana*, as they might be of use to bring the *Genoese* into his Interest, might also have prevailed on him : But Fate had decreed that a Match should be

A. D. be left behind to set *Italy* once more in a
 1495. Flame.

LIGNI, an unexperienced Youth, born of a Sister of the King's Mother, was very much in Favour: He, actuated by Levity, or Anger against the *Florentines*, for shewing Favour to the Cardinal of St. *Maló*, prevented this Restitution with no other Arguments, than setting forth the deplorable State of the *Pisans*, making the Assistance of the *Florentines* appear despicable; and boasting, that the *French* Forces were sufficient to beat all the *Italian* Armies united together. *Ligni* was seconded by *Monf. de Pienes*, who expected to be made Governor of *Pisa* and *Livorno*.

Siena taken into the King's Protection.

ANOTHER Council was held in *Siena*, concerning the Government of that City. Several of the Citizens insisted on a new Form: They wanted to abolish the Power of the Magistracy *del Monte*, which consisted of Nine Members; and required that the City-Guard should be removed from the Town-house, and a *French* one placed under *Ligni*. This Demand was rejected

rejected by most of the Council as improper at that Juncture, and not durable for any Length of Time: But *Ligní*, who vainly expected to make himself Sovereign of *Siena*, had Influence enough to persuade the King to take it into his Protection, and under certain Restrictions prevailed on him to protect all that State, except *Montepulciano*, it not being thought proper for the *French* to intermeddle with the Disputes between the *Florentines* and the Community of *Siena*, concerning that Town. So, with the King's Approbation, the *Senese* chose *Ligní* for their Commander, and assign'd him a Salary of Twenty Thousand Crowns, on Condition he maintained a Lieutenant and Three Hundred Foot. The Weakness of this Deliberation soon appeared; for not long after, the Magistracy of *Nine* recovered by Force of Arms, their usual Authority, expelled this Guard, and dismissed *Monf. de Lisle*, the *French* Ambassador.

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ALL this while the Affairs of the Allies in *Lombardy* advanced very briskly. *Lodovico* had received from *Cæsar*, with
great

A. D. great Solemnity, the Investiture of the

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Dutchy of *Milan*, paid Homage in Public to his Ambassadors, and taken the Oath of Fidelity. The Duke, in concert with the *Venetians*, had made great Preparations to obstruct the King's Return into *France*, or at least to secure the Dutchy of *Milan*, through which he was to pass; They both made new Levies of Men at Arms, to be maintained, part at their separate Expence, and part in common: And, tho' with some Difficulty, they prevailed on *Giovanni Bentivoglio* to accept a Salary from both, on his obliging the City of *Bologna* to declare for the League,

Lodovico's
Prepara-
tions a-
gainst the
King.

FOR the Security of *Genoa*, *Lodovico* armed Ten Gallies at his own Expence: And the Pope, in concert with the *Venetians*, joined in the Charge of providing and maintaining Four large Ships. *Sforza* had already sent into *Germany* to enlist Two Thousand Foot, and ordered *Galeazzo di San Severino* to undertake the Siege of *Asti* with Seven Hundred Men at Arms and Three Thousand Foot: Imagining he had nothing now to fear, he

grew

grew very insolent, and sent the Duke of *Orleans* a rude Message, ordering him to usurp no longer the Title of Duke of *Milan*, (which *Charles*, the Duke's Father had assumed after the Death of *Philippo Maria Visconti*) not to permit any more *French* Troops to come into *Italy*; to send back those with him, and put *Asti* into the Hands of *Galeazzo di San Severino*, in whom both his King and himself could confide: The King, the Year before, had conferred on *Galeazzo* the Order of *St. Michael*: He then magnified and boasted of his Forces; of the mighty Preparations of the Confederates to oppose the King's Return, and of a Design of carrying the War beyond the *Alps*.

THE Duke of *Orleans* contemned his Threats: At the first News of the League he had fortified *Asti*, and solicited earnestly for a Supply of Troops from *France*; and as the King had sent Orders for new Levies, they were continually passing the Mountains, which enabled him to act offensively. In the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*, he took the Town and Castle of *Guelfi-*
nara,

A. D. ¹⁴⁹⁵ *nara*, possessed by *Antonio Maria di San Severino*, and obliged *Galeazzo* to retire with his Army to *Anon*, a Town of the *Milaneſe* near *Aſti*, where he remained without Hopes of attacking, but alſo without Fear of being attacked.

LODOVICO was naturally inclined to enter into expensive Schemes, but when they were ripe for Execution, was unwilling to part with his Money ; a Conduct which expoſed his Dominions, at this Juncture, to great Danger; for very few *German* Soldiers enlisted when they found Money was ſcarce; and for the ſame Reaſon, the Troops which accompanied *Galeazzo* every Day diminished: On the other Hand, the Duke of *Orleans's* Army continually encreaſed; for the *French* marched chearfully to the Succour of their King.

ORLEANS had got together Three Hundred Lances, three Hundred *Swiſs*, and the like Number of *Gascons*; and though *Charles* had ſtrictly ordered him to be only on the deſenſive, that he might be

be ready to meet and join him; yet, as it ^{A. D.} is difficult to resist what appears beneficial, ^{1495.} he could not help accepting the Offers of the two *Opizini Caccia* Gentlemen of *Novara*, who invited him to come and take Possession of that Town: They were incensed against *Lodovico*, for having, in a Manner, forcibly deprived them, and other Citizens of their Water-Pipes, and several of their Possessions, by corrupting Witnesses to swear falsely before the Judges.

THE Duke of *Orleans*, after settling ^{The Duke} with them the Manner, accompanied by ^{of Orleans} *Lodovico* Marquis of *Saluzzo*, in the Night ^{takes Possession of} passed the *Pó*, at the Bridge of *Stura*, in ^{*Novara*.} the Marquis of *Montferrato*'s Dominions, and without meeting with any Resistance, was let into *Novara*: From thence he made continual Excursions with his Horse, as far as *Vigevano*; and it was thought, if he had marched directly to *Milan*, Affairs might have taken a different Turn: For as soon as the *Milanese* heard that *Novara* was in the Hands of the *French*, they seemed very much inclined to revolt.

THE HISTORY OF

LODOVICO was no less fearful in Adversity, than elated in Prosperity; as, indeed, Insolence and Fear are most commonly united. He now, with unprofitable Tears, discovered his Pusillanimity, when he found his Troops with *Galeazzo* (on whom he chiefly depended) durst not make head against the Enemy. But the Confusion of an Army is not always known to the Adversary; and for want of such Intelligence, many Opportunities of great Consequence are lost, as it now happened to the *French* General, who could not conceive that any Occurrence hitherto could have so much dejected a powerful Prince.

ORLEANS, to secure his new Acquisition, laid siege to the Citadel, which the fifth Day agreed to surrender, if it was not succoured in Twenty-four Hours: But during that small Interval, *Sanseverino* collected his Troops in *Vigevano*, and the Duke of *Milan* assembled his Army; then to reconcile himself to his People, by a Proclamation, he took off some of the heaviest Taxes.

As soon as the Duke of *Orleans* was informed of *San Severino's* Arrival at *Vigevano*, he marched thither, and offered Battle; but *Sforza's* Men were terrified, and rather inclined to abandon the Town, and pass the River *Tesino* on a Bridge of Boats. When the Duke found he could not bring them to an Engagement he went to *Trecas*, and from that Time *Lodovico's* Affairs took a better Turn: His Army encreased daily, both with Horse and Foot; for the *Venetians* thinking themselves greatly superior to the Enemy, permitted him to recal most of the Troops he had in the *Parmisan*, and sent him also Four Hundred of their *Stradiotti*. This prevented the *French* in the *Milanese*, from advancing; and a Party of Five Hundred of the Duke of *Orleans's* Horse, that had made an Excursion to *Vigevano*, was repulsed with great Loss by a Sally from that Town.

SAN SEVERINO, superior now in Strength, marched to *Trecas*, and offered Battle in his Turn, which the

A. D. Duke refused, and retired to *Novara*. *San*
 1495. *Severino* followed, with his whole Army, which was reinforced with a Thousand Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, lately come from *Germany*, and encamped within a Mile of him.

Charles
 marches
 to *Pisa*.

THE News of the Rebellion of *Novara* hastened the King's March: The *Florentines* had made great Preparations for his Reception, but as he was informed that out of Fear and Jealousy of *Piero de Medici*, who accompanied him, they had filled their Town with Soldiers, and armed the People; to avoid all Occasions of being detained, from *Siena* he went strait to *Pisa*, leaving *Florence* on his right.

AT *Poggibonzi* he was met by *Girolamo Savonarola*, who, according to his Custom, mixing the Divine Authority with his Speeches, earnestly exhorted him to restore the Fortresses of the *Florentines*; to Persuasions he added Threats of Heavenly Vengeance, if he hesitated to observe what he had so solemnly swore upon the Gospel,

pel, in the Presence of God. The King, ^{A. D. 1495.} with his usual Inconstancy, then, and the Day following, at Castle *Fiorentino*, gave him different Answers; sometimes promising to restore them on his Arrival at *Pisa*; at others refusing, pretending his Oaths could not be binding, because he had previously engaged with the *Pisans* to preserve their Liberty.

AT *Pisa* this Restitution was again proposed in Council; for News coming every Day of the Increase of the Confederate Army, and of their being all joined near *Parma*, many were of Opinion, that it would be prudent to satisfy the *Florentines*, especially, as the Money offered would facilitate their march into *Lombardy*. But this Advice was opposed by the same Persons who had opposed it at *Siena*; they said, if the Army should meet with any Misfortunes in *Lombardy*, it was better to be assured of the Town of *Pisa*, where they might safely retreat, than to give it to the *Florentines*, who, when once in Possession, would be as treacherous as the rest of the *Italians*; and, that for the

A. D. 1495. Preservation of the Kingdom of *Naples*; it was very convenient the King should be possessed of *Livorno*; for when he had altered, as he designed, the Government of *Genoa*, he would then be Master of all the Sea Ports from *Marseilles* to *Naples*.

CERTAIN it is, that these Reasons had some Weight with *Charles*, who was not of himself capable of chusing for the best. But he was much more moved by the Supplications and Tears of the *Pisans*; who, in great Numbers, presented themselves before him, with their Wives and Children: Some fell prostrate at his Feet, others, with miserable Cries, recommended themselves to the Courtiers and Soldiers, deploring their future Calamities, the implacable Hatred of the *Florentines*, and the entire Desolation of their Country; adding, they should not have dared to beg so pressingly for the King's Protection, had he not himself given them their Liberty, and promised to preserve it; that depending on his Royal Word, considered as inviolable, they had been

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emboldened to provoke the Anger of the
Florentines.

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THESE Cries and Exclamations melted the Hearts both of the private Men and Archers, and also of the *Swiss*, who went in great Numbers, in a tumultuous Manner to the King; and *Salazart*, in the Name of the rest, addressed him; earnestly solliciting, that for his own Honour, for the Glory of the Crown of *France*, for the Comfort and Satisfaction of his Soldiers, who were ready to lay down their Lives in his Service, and who counselled him with more Fidelity than those who were corrupted by the *Florentines*, he would not deprive the *Pisans* of that Benefit he had himself procured them; and that want of Money might not induce him to act ungenerously or perfidiously, they made him an Offer of their Collars, Plate, Pensions, and Pay.

THIS Tumult had got to such a Head, that a private Archer was bold enough to threaten the Cardinal of *St Maló*; others abused the Marshal *Gié*, and the Presi-

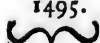
A. D. 1495. dent *Gannay*, who, they knew, were pressing for the Restitution of the Forts. This Variety of Counsels so distracted the King's Mind, that he was at a Loss how to act: Sometimes he renewed his Promises to the *Pisans*, never to give them up; then would send to the *Florentine* Ministers, who waited at *Lucca*, to let them know that for weighty Reasons he could not just then content them, but would perform every Thing according to their Wishes, as soon as he arrived at *Asti*, where he desired they would not fail to send their Ambassadors. He left *Pisa*, after changing the Governor of the Citadel, and placing therein a sufficient Garrison, as he did in the other Castles of the *Florentines*. *Charles* was anxious to get Possession of *Genoa*, being instigated to it by the Cardinals *St Piero in Vincola*, and *Fregoso*, *Objetto del Fiesco*, and many other outlawed Persons, who gave him great Hopes they should be able to bring about a Revolution. He sent thither *Monf. Philipppo*, with a Hundred and Twenty Lances, and Five Hundred Foot, who were just arrived by Sea from *France*, contrary to the Advice of his Council, who

who prudently opposed the Diminution of the Army : He also gave Orders that *Vitelli's* Troops, which could not come up Time enough to join him, should follow them ; that some new enlisted Soldiers in the Dukedom of *Savoy*, with other disaffected *Genoese*, should enter the *Rivieras* ; and for the Fleet, now reduced to Seven Gallies, two Galleons, and two small Vessels, under *Miolans*, to go and assist the Land-Forces.

IN the mean Time, the Avant-Guard of the *French* Army, conducted by Marshal *Gié*, was come to *Pontremoli*, where the Townsmen, at the Persuasion of *Trivulzi*, dismissed the Garrison they entertained of Three Hundred Men, and surrendered on Condition they should not be molested in their Persons or Effects. But the *Swiss*, not forgetting that in a Dispute which happened in their Passage through the *Lunegiana*, those of *Pontremoli* had killed Forty of their Companions, as soon as they entered the Town, plundered and burnt it, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword.

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THE Confederates, by this Time, had got together their Army in the *Parmisan*, consisting of Two Thousand Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Thousand Foot, and above Two Thousand Horse; the most of these last were of *Albania*, and other Provinces of *Greece*, who had been brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, and retained their own Country Name of *Stradiotti*: The best Part of this Army consisted of the Troops of that Republic; for those of *Lodovico* did not exceed a Quarter Part of the Whole, after he had withdrawn those who were gone towards *Novara*.

FRANCESCO GONZAGA, Marquis of *Mantua*, a young valiant Prince, was declared General of the *Venetian* Forces, and under him were many Officers of great Renown. *Luca Pisano*, and *Marchione Trevisano*, both Men of great Weight in the Senate, were sent * as Proveditors.

The

* The General of the *Venetian* Army had not Power to act without the Approbation of at least one of the Proveditors.

The Duke of *Milan's* Troops were com-
 manded by Count *Gaiazzo*, who had the
 Title of Governor; he was *Lodovico's* prin-
 cipal Favourite, but in the Knowledge of
 Military Affairs no Ways equal to his Fa-
 ther *Roberto di San Severino*, who ac-
 quired the Name of a great Captain, more
 by his Caution than any remarkable En-
 terprize: With him was appointed Com-
 missary, *Francesco Bernardino Visconti*,
 Head of the *Ghibellin* Faction in *Milan*,
 and, therefore, opposite to *Gianjacopo Tri-
 vulzi*, who was in the King's Army.

A Council of War was held, wherein
 after some Debates whether it would not
 be proper to march to *Fornuovo*, a small
 Village, situated at the Foot of the Moun-
 tains; it was resolved to advance only
 within three Miles of it, to the Abbey of
Gbiaruola, which being in an open Coun-
 try, might, perhaps, entice the *French* to
 come into the Plain.

THE Van of the King's Army had
 passed the Mountain, and encamped at
Fornuovo some Time before the Remain-
 der

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The Van

of the
French

Army at

Fornuovo

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der came up, on Account of the Difficulty in moving the Artillery ; which would have been greater, if the *Swiss*, to make Amends for the Injury done to the King's Honour at *Pontremoli*, had not with immense Labour given their Assistance.

As soon as the Van arrived at *Fornuovo*, the Marshal *de Gié* sent a Trumpet to the *Italian* Camp, to desire, in the King's Name, a Passage for himself and his Army ; who intending to hurt no body, and to pay a reasonable Price for Provisions, was returning into *France*. At the same Time he sent a Party of Horse, to get Intelligence of the Condition of the Enemy's Army : But they were soon put to Flight by some *Stradiotti*, sent against them by *Francesco Gonzaga* : And it was thought, that if the *Italians* had then attacked the *French* Camp, they might have easily routed their Van, and prevented the Royal Army from advancing. They had much the same Opportunity offered the next Day, notwithstanding the Marshal, apprised of the Danger, was retired a little higher up the Mountain.

tain. But the *Italian* Chiefs had not Resolution, discouraged, perhaps, by the Strength of the Situation; or imagining the Van to be more numerous, and the whole Army nearer than it was: Besides the *Venetians* were not all assembled at the Abbey, which makes it manifest, that if *Charles* had not loitered without any Occasion at *Siena*, *Pisa*, and other Places, he might have made his Way without any Opposition.

THE next Day all the *French* united at *Fornuovo*. The Confederates never thought it likely, that the King, with an Army so inferior to theirs, would have attempted to pass the *Apennine* by the direct Road; they imagined his Design was to leave the most of his Men at *Pisa*, and with the Remainder embark on board his Fleet: And even when they heard of his March, they fancied, that to avoid them, he intended to pass through the Villages of *Valditara*, over the Mountain of *Cento Croce*, which is rough and rocky, and so descend into the *Tortonese*,

A. D. ¹⁴⁹⁵ *nefe*, and join the Duke of *Orleans* in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria*.

BUT when the *Italians* were convinced that the King directed his March towards them, they began to be discouraged: Their Officers, to keep up their Spirits, had much lessened the Numbers of the *French*, in Comparison of what they now appeared to be. They considered the Bravery of the Lances, and the Intrepidity of the *Swiss*, to whom without Doubt the *Italian* Infantry was inferior, their Dexterity in the Management of the Artillery, and (what most affects Men when they have taken a different Impression) the unexpected Courage of the *French* in approaching them with such unequal Forces.

THESE Considerations had damped the Minds of several of the Officers, and put them on consulting amongst themselves what Answer to give the Trumpet; it seeming very dangerous to some that the Fate of *Italy* should be left to the Discretion of Fortune: But to others it appeared infamous that the *Italian* Soldiery should

should betray such Fear of a *French* Army, so much inferior in Numbers, as to suffer them to make their Way in their Presence without Opposition.

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THE Opinions being different, after many Disputes it was agreed to give notice at *Milan* of the King's Request, and then unanimously to act as the Duke and the Ambassadors of the Allies, who resided there, should direct. The Duke and the *Venetian* Minister, whose States lay nearest the Danger, were both of the same Mind, that it was not prudent to lay any Obstacle in the way of a departing Enemy; but on the contrary, according to the Proverb, make them a Silver Bridge: Otherwise it might so happen, (as could be proved by Examples) that 'Necessity, converted into Despair, might open itself a bloody Passage through an Army indiscreetly offering to make an Opposition.

BUT the *Spanish* Minister was of a different Mind: He said, Fortune was to be tried, and insisted strenuously, almost in the nature of a Protest, on fighting the

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the *French*; as the letting slip such an Opportunity of defeating them, would leave the Affairs of *Italy* in the same uneasy Situation, and even worse: For the King of *France*, by being in Possession of *Asti* and *Novara*, could command all *Piedmont*; and having behind him the Kingdom of *France*, a Kingdom so powerful and rich, the *Swiss* his Neighbours, always disposed to enlist under him, and finding himself increased in Reputation and Spirits, if the Allied Army, so much superior, vilely gave way, he would continue, without doubt, to oppress *Italy* with all the Calamities of a bloody War: That his Sovereigns must alter their Resolutions, if the *Italians* would not, or had not Courage to fight. But the safest Opinion prevailing in the Council, it was resolved to write to *Venice*, and be determined by the Resolutions of the Senate; being well satisfied they would chuse to run the least Risque.

BUT all Consultations were needless: For the Generals, after writing to *Milan*, considered, that an Answer could not return

return in Time, and that it would be infamous for the *Italians* to agree to a free Passage; so dismissing the Trumpet without any positive Answer, they determined to attack the Enemy, if they advanced, notwithstanding the many Difficulties raised by *Trevisano*, one of the *Venetian* Proveditors.

ON the other hand, the *French* came on full of Arrogance, and Resolution; and, as they had hitherto found no Resistance, were fully persuaded, that an Army of *Italians* would not offer to oppose them, and if they did, would soon be put to Flight; so despicable an Opinion they entertained of our Soldiery: Yet, when from the Descent of the Mountain, they discovered the Encampment, observed the infinite Number of Tents, the vast Tract of Land they covered, (for, according to the *Italian* Custom, the Camp was formed on as much Ground as would have ranged the whole Army in Battle Array) the great Number of their Enemies, who would hardly have come so near them, had they not been determined to fight, their Courage

A. D. 1495. rage so far cooled, as to wish they might obtain a Passage without coming to Blows.

THEIR Apprehension of Danger increased when they found themselves disappointed of the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. That Duke, according to Orders, had promised to be in Three Days at *Piacenza*, with all the Forces he could draw together: But on fresh Notice that *Sforza's* Army, consisting of Nine Hundred Men at Arms, Twelve Hundred Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, was marching against him, he had now writ, that it was impossible to advance without certain Danger, especially as he had been obliged to diminish his Forces by leaving large Garrisons in *Asti* and *Novara*. This Disappointment induced the King to alter his Measures.

MONS. D' ARGENTON was lately come from *Venice*, where he had been Ambassador: Before his Departure he had promised *Pisano* and *Trevifano*, the then declared Proveditors, to use his best Endeavours

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deavours to dispose the King to Peace. A. D.
Charles now commiſſioned him to ſend 1495.
 a Trumpet to theſe Proveditors, with a
 Letter, intimating, that he had ſomething
 to impart to them relating to the common
 Welfare. They agreed to meet him next
 Morning, at a convenient Place between
 the two Armies. But *Charles*, either for
 want of Proviſion in the Situation he was
 in, or for ſome other Reaſon, changing
 his Mind, determined not to wait the
 Reſult of this Meeting.

THE Fronts of the two Camps were
 not Three Miles aſunder, both on the
 Right Side of the River *Taro*; which
 deſerves rather the Name of a Torrent
 than of a River: It riſes in the *Appenine*
 Mountain, and after running through a
 Vale between two narrow Hills, ſpreads
 in the great Plain of *Lombardy*, and then
 empties itſelf into the *Po*. On the Right
 of theſe two Hills, down to the Banks of
 the River, the Allied Army was poſted:
 This Side was preferred to prevent the
 Enemy from turning towards *Parma*;
 becauſe that City being full of different
Y
Factions,

A. D. 1495. *Factions*, was suspected by the Duke of *Milan*; and more so since the King had obtained Leave from the *Florentines* to take *Francesco Secco* into his Service, whose Daughter was married into the noble and powerful Family of the *Torelli* in the *Parmisan*.

THE Allied Camp was fortified with Ditches and Barriers, and abounded with Artillery, under which the *French* could not avoid passing in their way to *Asti*. The King's Army had but little rest all that Night; for the *Italians* ordered the *Stradiotti* to march up to their very Camp, which obliged them continually to call to Arms, and get out of their Tents. There fell also a heavy Rain, with great Storms of Thunder and Lightning, which was interpreted on both Sides to prognosticate Evil: But the *French* were mostly alarmed, as the Loss of a Battle to them, (who, in those Mountains, had no certain Place of Safety to retire to) would be intire Destruction: And it was thought more likely that, when Heaven manifested its Anger, it was to humble the Great; and

and pointed at the King, who, with so much Dignity, appeared at the Head of his Army. The Day following (which was the 6th of *July*) the *French* began at Day-break to pass the River. The Artillery preceded the Van, which the King supposed was to bear the greatest Shock, and had therefore composed it of Three Hundred and Fifty *French* Lances, and Three Thousand *Swiss*, who were the Sinews and Hopes of the Army: They were commanded by *Engilberto*, Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, and by the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who had enlisted them: To these he added Three Hundred Archers on Foot, some Cross-Bows of his Guards on Horseback, and the best part of his Foot. Next followed the Main-Body, in the midst of which the King was seated in full Armour, on a fine nimble Steed; near him rode *Monf. de la Tremouille*, an Officer of great Renown and Authority, who was to assist his Majesty with his Counsel in that part of the Army: The Rear came after, conducted by Count *de Foix*, and lastly the Carriages.

CHARLES still desirous of Peace, as soon as his Troops were in Motion, sent again *Argenton* to treat with the *Venetian* Proveditors. But both Armies being prepared for Action, and the *Italian* Generals determined to fight, they were so far advanced that the Vicinity of the two Armies did not admit of Time, nor so much as a Place to confer in.

THE Light-Horse began already to skirmish, and the Artillery to play from both Sides the River: The *Italians* were come out of their Camp, and had extended their Squadrons along the Side of the *Taro* in Order of Battle. The *French*, after passing the River, continued their March, part on the Banks, and part on the Brow of the Hill, for the Plain between was too narrow to contain their Squadrons.

As soon as the Van of the *French* was advanced over against the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of *Mantua* with a Squadron of Six Hundred Men at Arms, who were the Flower of the Allied Army,

a large Band of *Stradiotti*, some Light-Horse, and Five Thousand Foot, marched up by the Side of the River. When he had got beyond the Rear of the *French*, he began to cross the *Taro*, having left on the Banks, *Antonio di Montefeltro*, a natural Son of *Federigo* Duke of *Urbino*, with a numerous Squadron, with Orders to come to his Assistance, if sent for, or to reinforce the others if required: He commanded the rest of the *Stradiotti* to pass still higher up the River, at *Formuovo*, and take Possession of the Baggage, which for want of Men, or by Advice (as was reported) of *Trivulzi*, was left exposed without any Guard, and ordered also a Party of Light-Horse to take the Enemy in Flank.

COUNT *Galeazzo*, in order to attack the Van, went down the *Taro*, and crossed it with Four Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thousand Foot, amongst whom was a Company belonging to Don *Alfonso d'Este*, whose Father would not permit him to go in Person to the Army. Count *Annibale Bentivoglio*, with Two Hundred

A. D. 1495. Men at Arms, was left on the Banks with Orders not to pass the River unless he was sent for. The Proveditors insisted, that two entire Companies of Men at Arms, and a Thousand Foot, should be left to guard the Camp.

Battle of the Taro. THE King observing so great a Force passing the River behind him, turned his Back to his Van, and with the main Body marched to the Assistance of his Rear, and advanced in so much Haste at the Head of one of his Squadrons, that when the Battle began, from the Center, he found himself in the Front of the Enemy, and was amongst the first that engaged.

SOME have related that the Marquis of *Mantua* passed the *Taro* in a sort of Disorder, occasioned by the Height of the Banks, and by the Trunks, Roots, and Shoots of Trees, that commonly are met with on the sides of Torrents; and others add, that his Foot, by these Difficulties, and the swelling of the River in the last Rains, tarried too long, and that some did not

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not pass at all. Be that as it will, the *A. D.*
 Assault given by the Marquis was very fu- 1495
 rious, and was answered with equal Fierce-
 ness and Valour.

ALL the Marquis's Squadrons were engaged at once, contrary to the Custom of the *Italians*, who used to fight Squadron against Squadron, and when one was beat or tired, another took its Place, without coming to a general Engagement till the last, so that very often a Battle lasted a whole Day, without any great Slaughter, for then Night coming on, the Armies separated, without either Side claiming the Victory.

THE Lances being broke by the Fall of many brave Men, and many Horse, in both Armies, they began, with the same Fury, to make use of Clubs, covered with Iron, Ponyards, and other short Arms; the Horses also with Kicks, Bites, and Bearings, fighting as well as the Men.

THE courageous Marquis gave a Specimen of *Italian* Bravery; for being at-
 Y 4 tacked

^{1495.} *A. D.* tacked in the Beginning of the Fight by a Band of young Gentlemen, and by the broken Lances (this being the Appellation of a select Body of Soldiers, not belonging to any particular Company, and in separate Pay) encountering all Danger, he omitted nothing that became a valiant Officer.

THE *French* at first sustained with great Bravery this fierce Attack, but being overpowered by Numbers, they apparently began to yield, and the King was in great Danger; for *Bourbon* the Bastard, was taken Prisoner within a few Yards of him; and as his Majesty had imprudently brought himself into eminent Peril by advancing in such Haste, without a proper Guard, or with such Order as was necessary for so great a Prince; the Marquis thought he had a fine Opportunity of signalizing himself, and made all his Efforts to take him. *Charles* fought valiantly, as did the few about him; but he received more Aid from the Sprightliness of his Horse, than from his Friends.

IN the midst of so great a Danger, he did not omit what his Fears suggested; for finding himself surrounded by the Enemy, he had recourse to Heaven, and made a Vow to St. *Dennis* and St. *Martin*, particular Protectors of the Kingdom of *France*, that if he got safe, with his Army, into *Piedmont*, as soon as he reached his own Country, he would visit and bestow great Gifts on the Churches dedicated to their Names, one near *Paris*, the other at *Torſi*; and that every Year, he would, with Feasts and Sacrifices *, give Testimony of his Requests being granted by their Intercession.

AFTER making these Vows, his Vigour encreasing, he fought with more Courage than his Strength or Constitution would permit: But the King's Danger, when known, had so much inflamed those, who were yet at some Distance, that they flew to shelter their Royal Master with their Persons, and kept back the *Italians*, till his own Battalion came up, a Squadron
of

* Masses.

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of which bore so fiercely on the Enemy's Flank, that it stopped pretty much their Impetuosity ; as did also the Death of *Ridolfo Gonzaga*, Uncle to the Marquis of *Mantua*, an experienced Officer ; in whose Face, whilst he was acting the Part of an excellent Captain, comforting and rallying his Men, on lifting up his Helmet, a *Frenchman* ran a Dagger : He fell, and in the midst of such a Multitude of Horse, streightened in so narrow a Compass, could receive no Help ; and several, in that Confusion, riding over him, he was rather suffocated by the Crowd, than killed by the Enemy : This Accident was the more unlucky to him, as in the Council the Day before, and that very same Morning, judging it imprudent to put so much in the Power of Fortune, without any urgent Necessity, against the Inclination of his Nephew, he had given his Opinion not to fight.

THE Battle, by so many different Accidents varying, and no Advantage of any Importance appearing on either Side, it was more than ever doubtful who would

conquer ; so that Fear and Doubt being in an Equilibrium, they fought stoutly on both Sides, each Individual presuming the Victory depended on his particular Valour. The *French* were animated by a Persuasion, that there was no Safety for them, without gaining a Victory, and also by the Presence and Danger of their Sovereign : For that Nation was ever remarkable for almost adoring their Kings, and revering them as something Divine.

SEVERAL Motives also conspired to encourage the *Italians*: The Hopes of Plunder, the Bravery of their General, the Advantage they began with, and their numerous Army, which secured them of being always succoured, which was not the Case with the *French* ; for they were all either engaged, or expected every Moment to be attacked.

IN all human Events the Power of Fortune is great ; in Military Affairs particularly so, but in Battles infinite and inexpressible ; where an Order not well understood, or ill executed ; where Rashness,

or

A. D. 1495 or a false Report, with innumerable other Accidents, not possible to be foreseen, or prevented by a General, often unexpectedly arise, and, in a Moment, transfer the Victory to those who seemed conquered. Thus Fortune, at this Instant, consistent with her usual Custom, effected what the Courage of Men, or the Force of Arms, were not able to obtain.

A Party of the *Stradiotti*, as related, were sent to get Possession of the Carriages, which they did without any Opposition: As soon as they had got them into their Possession, some were carrying off Mules, some Horses, some Harness, to the other Side of the River. At the Sight of so much Plunder, not only the *Stradiotti*, who were left to attack the *French* in Flank, but many, both of the Horse and Foot, even of those who were engaged, quitted their Posts, and ran in Crowds towards the Carriages: By this shameful Diminution of their Army, the *Italians* were obliged to give Way, especially, as they were deprived of the Aid of *Antonio di Montefeltro's* Regiment, by the
Death

Death of the Marquis of *Gonzaga*, who *A. D.*
 alone had Power and Orders to fend for ^{1495.}
 him in Case of need.

THE Marquis, with a few about him, who chose rather to run the Risque of their Lives than stain their Honour, sustained, for some Time, the whole Weight of the Battle: But it was not possible for a Handful of Men to resist such Numbers, which multiplied continually upon them from all Parts. So after a great many had been killed and wounded, especially of the Marquis's own Regiment, they were obliged to run away, and repass the River, which being swelled, not only by the Rains that had fallen in the Night, but also by a great Storm, which arose while they were in the Action, rendered the Passage very difficult.

THE *French* followed them to the Banks with perpetual Slaughter, without making any Prisoners, and without stopping a Minute to strip or plunder: On the contrary, Voices were continually heard, crying, Companions! Remember *Guignegate!*

A. D. ^{1495.} *negate ! Guignegate* is a Village in *Picardy*, near *Terouanne*, where, in the latter Years of *Lewis XI.* the *French* Army, already victorious over *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, was afterwards routed by breaking their Ranks, and falling to plunder.

WHILST the Battle was fighting with so much Bravery on this Side, the Van of the *French* presented itself with such Resolution against Count *Gaiazzo's* Horse, that the *Italians* were seized with a Panic, especially when they saw none of their People moved to assist them: They were broke, one may say, by themselves; for after some few had been killed, and amongst the rest *Giovanni Piccinino*, and *Galeazzo di Corregio*, they fled, and joined their main Squadron. Marshal *Gié* observing, that besides the Count's Squadron, there was on the Banks, on this Side, another Colonel with his Men ranged, would not permit a Pursuit, for which he was afterwards by some commended for his Prudence, by others blamed for his Caution: These last,

per-

perhaps, judged more by the Event, than *A. D.*
with Reason; though no one doubted, *1495.*
but that if he had followed them, both the
Count and the Colonel would have fled,
and filled the rest, on that Side, with
such a Terror, that they must have been
all broke: For when the Marquis of
Mantua, who with a Party that remained
unbroken, and kept close to him, had
passed the River, he found the rest in
Confusion, every one employed in saving
himself and his Baggage; and the great
Road that leads from *Piacenza* to *Parma*,
full of Men, Horses, and Carriages, mov-
ing towards the *Parmesan*.

THIS Disorder was partly remedied by
the Marquis's Presence and Authority, who
immediately set about recalling and pla-
cing them in Ranks; but more so, by the
Arrival of Count *Pitigliano*, who, in the
Heat of the Battle, made his Escape, came
to the *Italian* Army, and assured them,
that the Enemy was more disheartened,
and in greater Fear than themselves. It
was the common Report, that had it not
been for his Assurances, the whole Camp
would

A. D. 1495. would have broke up then, or at furthest that Night. All the *Italians* retired into their Camp, excepting those, who overcome with Fear, (as on such Occasions will happen) or frightened at the swelling of the River, were dispersed in different Places, most of whom, falling in with *French* Parties, were cut to Pieces.

THE King, with the rest of the Army, joined his Van; then holding a Council, proposed passing the River immediately, and attacking the Enemy's Camp. *Trivulzi* was of this Opinion, as also *Camillo Vitelli*, who had sent his Men to *Genoa*, and, with a few Horse, had followed the King, in order to be present at this Battle; but more than any *Francesco Secco*, who desired them to observe, that the high Road they saw at a Distance, was full of Horse and Foot, who must either be the Enemy flying to *Parma*, or having first been broke in the Battle, were returning to their Camp.

BUT the Passage of the River was thought dangerous, and the Army being
fati-

fatigued with the Days Work, it was resolved, at the Instance of the *French* Officers, to encamp: So they went a Mile off to a Village called *Medefa*, situated on a Hill, and there formed their Camp, without any Order, and with no small Inconveniency; for several of their Carriages had been taken and carried off.

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THIS was the Battle between the *French* and *Italians* on the *Taro*, memorable for its being the first, that, after a long Series of Years, had been fought in *Italy*, with Slaughter and Bloodshed. The Loss of the *French* was not Two Hundred Men; but that of the *Italians* was above Three Thousand, amongst which were Three Hundred Men at Arms, *Rinuccio Farnese*, Commander of the *Venetians*, and many Gentlemen of Note. *Bernardino del Montone*, another great Officer of the *Venetians*, was, by the Blow of an Iron Club on his Helmet, left for Dead. He was a Commander, more regarded for the Fame of *Baccio del Montone*, his Grandfather, one of the first who gave Lustre to the *Italian* Soldier, than for his own

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Merit.

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Merit. So much Bloodshed seemed very terrible to the *Italians*: For the Battle did not last above an Hour, and was fought only with short Arms, little Use being made of the Artillery.

E A C H Side claimed the Victory; the *Italians*, because their Camp and Carriages were safe, while those of the *French* were rifled, and the King's Tent, amongst other Things, carried off: They also boasted, that the *French* would have been cut to Pieces, had not their own People, instead of fighting, fallen to plundering; which did not seem to be contradicted by the *French*. The *Venetians*, attributing to themselves the Glory of the Day, ordered all over their Dominions, and particularly at *Venice*, Illuminations, Fire-Works, and other Marks of Joy.

P R I V A T E Persons imitated public Example: For on the Tomb of *Marchione Trevisano*, in the Church of the *Minims*, are engraved these Words: *On the River Taro he fought prosperously against Charles King of France*. But the Victory was uni-

universally adjudged to the *French*, on Account of the great Disproportion of the Slain, of their driving the Enemy on the other Side the River, and because their Passage was no longer obstructed, which was all they contended for, the Battle being fought on no other Account. A. D. 1495.

THE Day following the King remained in the same Camp, and, thro' the Means of *Argenton*, a Truce was agreed on till Night. *Charles* wanted to secure a safe Return; for he knew that many of the *Italians* had not engaged; and seeing them keep their Camp, he thought so long a March through the Dutchy of *Milan*, with the Enemy in his Rear, would be dangerous: But he was at a Loss how to effect it; for those he applied to for Advice were of so weak Capacity, that he was rather perplexed than determined by their Counsels.

THE *Italians* were for some Time no less unresolved how to act; for Count *Pitigliano* encouraged them, and proposed assaulting the *French* Camp the Night af-

A. D. 1495. ter the Battle, whilst they lay without any Order or Fortification: But this Counsel, after some Debates, was rejected as too dangerous. It was currently reported all over *Italy*, that the Troops of *Lodovico* had Orders not to fight: For the *Venetian* Army being so powerful, and in his Dominions, it was thought he dreaded more their Victory, than that of the *French*, who he wished would neither defeat nor be defeated; and, that at all Events, he had a Mind to keep his Army entire, which occasioned the Loss of the Battle.

THIS Rumour was fomented by the Marquis of *Mantua*, and by the *Venetian* Officers, which they did to keep up their Reputation, and was industriously spread about by all those who desired to have the *Italian* Arms in good Estimation. But I heard a Person of Note, who was in *Milan* at that Time, and in the secret of Affairs, confute this Report with great Warmth: He affirmed, that almost all *Lodovico's* Forces were at the Siege of *Novara*, and that those he had at the *Taro* were insignificant,

nificant, as to the gaining the Victory, which the Allied Army would have obtained, if they had not made so many false Steps; it was plain, Men were not wanting, for many of the *Venetians* did not engage: If Count *Gaiazzo* sent only a Part of his Troops to the Battle, and those with a seeming Unwillingness, it might proceed from this, that he thought the Van of the *French* too strong, and would not trust the whole to Fortune. Those who knew the Count would sooner wonder to see him undertake a bold Action than a cautious one: Besides, *Sforza's* Army was not altogether useless; for although they did not fight, they prevented the Van from joining the King, which put him under a Necessity of sustaining the whole Weight of the Battle, with the smallest and weakest Part of his Forces, to the great Peril of his own Person,

AND, if I mistake not, this Opinion is founded not so much upon Conjecture as on Evidence; for *Lodovico* would sooner have ordered his General to dissuade the *Venetians* from fighting, well knowing,

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that

A. D. 1495. that if they were routed, his own Troops, tho' not engaged, would suffer by being so near them; and by what kind of Reasoning, Consideration, or Experience, could he promise himself, that in the Battle Fortune would be so equal, that the King should neither defeat, nor be defeated; nor would the *Venetians* have fought against the Advice of the Duke's Generals; for the chief End of sending their Troops was to protect his Dominions.

CHARLES the next Morning marched his Army before Day-break, without sound of Trumpet, to conceal, as much as possible his Departure. The Allies did not stir that Day, nor could they well have pursued them on Account of the Waters, as more heavy Rains had fallen that Night, and made the River impassable the best Part of the Day.

AT Sun-Set, Count *Gaiazzo* crossed the River with Two Hundred Horse, and galloped after the Enemy, who kept the high Road to *Piacenza*: He harrassed them pretty much that Evening, but more the Day follow^z

following. The *French*, altho' fatigued, went on in good Order, and were plentifully supplied with all Necessaries by the Country People, some out of Fear brought Provisions, and others, at the Persuasions of *Trivulzi*, who riding before with the Horse, was in a very friendly Manner received by all the *Guelf* Party. The Allied Army next Day marched after the Enemy; but none of the Commanders, and particularly the *Venetian* Proveditors, cared to run any farther Risque; so they kept at a Distance, without annoying them, which they might easily have done: For the Second Day the *French* encamped on the other Side the River *Trebbia*, a little beyond *Piacenza*; but, for Conveniency of Quarters, Two Hundred Lances, the *Swiss*, and most of the Artillery, lay on this Side the River, on a Space of Ground between the *Trebbia* and the Town.

THAT Night the Rain swelled the Waters to such a Degree, that, notwithstanding all Endeavours, it was not possible for any of these to pass till late the next Day, nor then, without a great deal

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of Difficulty: Yet they were not attacked, either by the Army, which might have come up, or by Count * *Gaiazzo*, who was gone into *Piacenza*, to keep the People from revolting, which he suspected, and not without some Reason: For if *Charles* had followed the Counsel of *Trivulzi*, and with displayed Colours proclaimed *Francesco*, the young Son of *Giovanni Galeazzo*, in all probability that would have produced a Revolution in the Dutchy: So agreeable was the Name of the Person they looked upon as their legitimate Sovereign, so odious that of the Usurper, and of such Importance *Trivulzi*'s Interest!

BUT the King, intent only on getting forwards, would not give Ear to any Thing, that might prolong his Stay, and continued his March with all Speed; but, as he advanced, he began to find Provisions

* *Giovio* accuses Count *Gaiazzo*, and his Brother *Eracassa*, of Treachery, alledging they might have greatly molested the *French*, instead of which, they supplied them with Provisions at *Tortoná*, where they kissed the King's Hand. *Bembo* says only, that the Count, by keeping at so great a Distance from the Enemy, gave them an Opportunity of getting away without Loss.

sions grow scarce : For *Lodovico* had properly distributed his Troops, where he knew they were to pass, some in *Tortona*, under *Gasparo San Severino*, surnamed *il Fracassa*, and some in *Alexandria*; that is to say, a Body of Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, which he detached from the Camp at *Novara*.

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THE *French*, after passing the *Trebbia*, were harrassed in Flank by Count *Gaiazzo*, who had taken with him Five Hundred *German* Foot from the Garrison of *Piacenza* : For the *Venetian* Proveditors were so terrified at the Risque they had run at the *Taro*, that they refused to send him the Remainder of the Light-Horse, with Four Hundred Men at Arms : But the King, when he was near *Alexandria*, turned towards the Mountain, where the River *Tanaro* is shallow, and without Loss of Men, or any other Damage, in Eight Days March came to the Walls of *Asli*.

CHARLES entered the Town, and encamped his Army in the Neighbourhood,

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hood, with an Intent of augmenting it, and remaining in *Italy*, until he had secured *Novara*. The Confederates had followed him as far as the *Tortonese*, and there joined *Lodovico's* People, but went no further, when they found a Pursuit would be to no Purpose. *Novara* was in great Want of Provisions; for the Duke of *Orleans* had not only neglected to supply it, as he might easily have done in that plentiful Country, but without considering the Danger, till the Remedy was too late, permitted his Soldiers profusely to consume what Provisions they found there.

ABOUT this Time, the Cardinals and the Officers, who had been sent against *Genoa*, returned to the Camp, that Expedition having miscarried. Those on Board the Fleet had taken *Spezie* and *Rapalle* without any Resistance: But the *Genoese* soon fitted out a Squadron of eight Gallies, and a small Ship, with two *Biscayan* Barks, and in the Night landed Seven Hundred Men, who, without any Difficulty, retook *Rapalle*, with the *French* who were in it; and then approaching the Royal Fleet,

Fleet, that was retired in the Gulf, after a long Engagement, took or burnt all their Vessels; which, with the taking the Admiral Prisoner, rendered those Places more renowned for this Victory, than for that of the preceeding Year, when the *Arragonians* were routed. Nor was this Loss repaired by those who were sent by Land. They marched by the Eastern *Riviera*, as far as the Valley of *Bisagna*, and the Outlets of *Genoa*, but were deceived in their Expectations that the Town would rise; so on hearing the bad Tidings of their Fleet, they returned in a sort of Flight, over those craggy Mountains, to the Vale of *Pozzeveri*, and from thence, though much encreased by the Country People, and others sent by the Duke of *Savoy*, they proceeded with the same Haste towards *Piedmont*.

THIS Body of Troops would, without Doubt, have been cut to Pieces, if the Soldiers in *Genoa* had sallied out, but that was not thought proper, least in their Absence the Party of the *Fregosi* should create a Tumult. The Cavalry under *Vitelli* at *Chiavero*,

A. D. 1495. *Chiaveri*, hearing the bad Success of those they were to join, returned to *Savona*, not without some Danger; and, excepting *Spezie*, all the other Towns on that Coast were recovered by the *Genoese*; as was also *Ventimiglia* in the Western *Riviera*, which had been occupied by *Paolo Battista Fregoso*, and other Malecontents.

ALL this while there were as great Agitations in *Naples* as in *Lombardy*, but with more variety of Fortune. *Ferdinando*, after taking *Reggio*, attended to the recovering of the Remainder of that Province: He had about Six Thousand Men, comprehending the Volunteers who came from *Sicily*, besides the *Spanish* Horse and Foot, under *Gonsalvo Ernando*, one of the *Agbilar* Family of *Cordoua*, a Man of great Courage, who had learned Experience in the Wars of *Granada*. On his first Arrival in *Italy*, by the boasting *Spaniards* he was called the Grand Captain, to denote the high Esteem they had of his Merit; which Name afterwards, by his Acquisition of several signal Victories,

was

was universally confirmed and perpetuated to him.

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THIS Army which had put all the Country in Motion, was met at *Seminara*, a Village near the Sea-Side, by *Obigni* the Commander of the *French*, who were left to defend *Calabria*: He had also with him a large Body of Horse and Foot composed of the Gentry and others, attached to the *French* Interest. When they came to engage, his Troops being mostly regular, soon got the better of the Irregulars, and Unexperienced: For not only the *Italians* and *Sicilians* in *Ferdinando's* Army were a parcel of Men got together in a tumultuous Manner; but the *Spaniards* also were but newly levied. Yet at first they fought bravely, after the Example of their Chief: *Ferdinando* had his Horse killed under him, and would have been slain or taken Prisoner, if *Giovanni di Capua*, Brother to the Duke of *Termini*, who had been his Page, and always a Favourite, had not dismounted, and placed him on his own Horse, and by a memorable Instance of singular Fidelity and Love,

A. D. Love, exposed his Life, for he was killed

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on the Spot. *Gonsalvo* fled over the Mountains to *Reggio*, and *Ferdinando* to *Palma*, where he embarked and went to *Messina*; but not in the least dejected by his Adversities, he resolved to try his Fortune anew. He was satisfied of the Affection of the City of *Naples*, and the Disposition of the whole Kingdom to revolt. Several of the Barons and others of great Interest were continually pressing him to return. Wherefore not to give Time for his Friends to grow cool, on account of his Rout in *Calabria*, with great Speed he got together not only the Gallies that he had brought from *Ischia*, and those that went off with his Father *Alfonso*; but also those that (as has been said) came from *Spain*, and whatever other Vessels he could procure from the Towns and Barons in *Sicily*.

WITH this Fleet composed of Sixty Ships of the Line, and twenty smaller, he set sail from *Messina*.* *Ricajensio*, a *Catalan*,

* *Corio* says One Hundred Vessels, and that *Ferdinando* had not on board a Hundred Men fit for Land Service, and that all his Cash was One Hundred Ducats.

lan, was the Admiral, a Man of great Courage, and experienced in Maritime Affairs. This Fleet was very indifferently manned, and had besides few Soldiers on board: But that not being known to the Enemy, the King thought such a powerful Appearance would terrify and prevent the Enemy from attacking him.

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THOUGH *Ferdinando's* Forces were small, they soon became formidable by the Favour and good Will of the People: For he no sooner arrived in Sight of *Salerno*, than that City, and all the Towns along the Coast of *Malfi* and *Cava*, erected his Standard: He then sailed on, and stood two Days before *Naples*, in Expectation of a Revolution in his Favour, but was disappointed: For the *French* ran to Arms, and posting Guards in all proper Places, put a Stop to the Rebellion, which was ready to break out, and might have extricated themselves from all Danger, had they followed with Resolution the good Counsel given them by some of their Party, who, apprized how ill the *Arragonian* Fleet was provided with fighting

A. D. 1495. ing Men, persuaded *Monpensier* to equip the *French* Vessels that were in Port, and attack them; but this Advice was neglected.

FERDINANDO, after the third Day, despairing of any Change, put out to Sea for *Ischia*; but his Friends conscious of their Danger, and that their Plot must now certainly be discovered, looked upon his Cause as their own: They therefore privately assembled, and resolving to make a Virtue of Necessity, dispatched a small Boat with an Express to recall him; and to desire, that, to support those who intended to rise in his Favour, he would land all, or the greatest Part of his Men on Board.

THE King embraced the Offer, and sailed back to *Naples* the Day following, which happened to be the same Day the Battle was fought at the *Taro*: He approached the Shore, to land his Men at the *Maddalena*, a Mile distant from the City, where the little River *Sebeto* runs into the Sea; a River which deserves rather

ther the Name of a Brook, and would *A. D.*
hardly have been distinguished by any *1495.*
Name at all, if the *Neapolitan* Poets had
not thought proper to give it one.

MONPENSIER, as ready to proceed with Rashness, where Caution was necessary, as he had been with Fear, where Courage the Day before was requisite, left the City almost destitute of Troops to oppose the Enemy's landing. The *Neapolitans* rejoiced at an Opportunity, which they could never have expected, some of them immediately flew to Arms, and gave notice of their Rising by tolling the Bell of the *Carmelites* near the Walls of the City; and that being answered by all the rest, the People soon gathered from all Quarters, took Possession of the Gates, and cried out *Ferdinando ! **

THIS sudden Tumult alarmed the *French*, who finding the Way they came out at obstructed, and not thinking it advisable to remain between the Rebel City

A a

and

* The *Neapolitans* gave notice to the King of their Rising by displaying a white Sheet.

A. D.

1495

Ferdinando in Naples.

and *Ferdinando's* Fire, marched round the Walls, up a high, long, and difficult Hill, intending to get into the Town through the Gate that was near *Castle Nuovo*. *Ferdinando* in the mean time, came into *Naples* on Horseback, with some of his Followers, rode all over the Town, and was received with Transports of Joy. The Ladies from their Windows threw Flowers and sweet-scented Waters; several of the Nobles ran into the Streets to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Brows; but at the same time nothing was neglected that was necessary for their Defence.

THE Marquis of *Pescara*, with the Soldiers who entered with *Ferdinando*, and several young Nobles, employed themselves in barricading and fortifying the Ends of the Streets, where they apprehended the *French* from the Castle might come upon them. As soon as *Monpensier* had got together his Men in the Piazza before the Castle, he made all his Efforts to advance into the inhabited Quarters of the Town; but was so molested

molested by the Cross-Bows and small Artillery, and found all the Streets so well secured, ^{A. D. 1495.} that Night approaching, he ordered his Troops to retire into the Castle, leaving, between useful and unuseful, at least Two Thousand Horse, in the Square, as there was neither Room nor Provision for them in the Castle. *Ivo d' Allegri*, a brave ^{Monpensier shuts himself up in the Castle.} Officer, *Antonello* Prince of *Salerno*, and several other Persons of Distinction, both *French* and *Italians*, shut themselves up with *Monpensier*. For several Days they made frequent Sallies, and fired the Artillery, but being always gallantly repulsed, they gave over all Hopes of recovering the Town.

THE Example of *Naples* was followed by *Capua*, *Aversa*, the Castle of *Mondragone*, and many neighbouring Villages; and the whole Kingdom seemed ripe for a Change. The People of *Gaeta*, at the Sight of some of *Ferdinando's* Vessels that made towards the Shore, having taken up Arms with more Resolution than Prudence, were defeated with great Slaughter

A. D. 1495. by the *French* Garrison, and the Town
 was pillaged.

AT the same Time the *Venetian* Fleet landed some Men near *Monopoli*, a City in *Puglia*, and attacked it by Sea and Land; *Piero Bembo*, Commander of one of the *Venetian* Gallies, was killed by a Cannon Ball; nevertheless the Town was vigorously assaulted, which so discouraged the *French* Governor, that he soon surrendered; the Castle of *Pugliano* also was given up by Composition.

FERDINANDO, in the mean time, was employed in getting Possession of Castle *Nuovo* and Castle *dell' Uovo*, and hoped to reduce them by Famine; for Provisions were scarce, considering the Number of Soldiers that were therein, and he rendered them still scarcer by taking Possession of the adjacent Villages. The *French*, to secure their Fleet, which was in great Danger in the Port, brought it between the Tower of *St. Vincent*, Castle *dell' Uovo*, and *Pizzifalcone*: This Fleet consisted of Five Ships, Four Light Gallies,

lies, a small Galliot, and a Galleon. ^{A. D. 1495.} They kept Possession of the back part of Castle *Nuovo*, adjoining to the Royal Gardens, extended themselves to *Capella*, and fortifying the Monastery of the *Croce*, they covered the Road as far as *Piedigrotta* and *San Martino*.

F E R D I N A N D O secured and fortified that Spot of Ground made use of for Horse-Races, and after making a covered Way to the *Incoronata*, he occupied Mount *St. Ermo* and the Hill *Pizzisfalcone*, but not the Citadel, which was built on the Top of the Hill, in order to get that also, which commanded the Country round about the Enemy, he attacked those in the Monastery of the *Croce*; but the Artillery played on him so briskly, that he was obliged to desist; yet he hoped to get it by a Stratagem, which afterwards proved fatal to the Contriver.

T H E Marquis of *Pescara* kept a private Intelligence with a Black in the Monastery, who had been his Servant: One Night he came to the Walls of the Monastery to

The Death of the Marquis of *Pescara*

A. D. 1495. fix with this Black the Manner and Time of admitting the *Arragonians*; but whilst the Marquis was mounted on a Ladder, he was shot through the Throat by an Arrow, and killed on the Spot.

Prospero and Fabritio revolt to Ferdinando.

THE Return of *Prospero* and *Fabritio Colonna*, who had quitted the *French* Service, was of no small Credit to *Ferdinando's* Affairs: They came in very soon, on a Pretence, that the Salary they had agreed for was not paid, and because too great a Regard was shewn to *Virginio Orsini* and Count *Pitigliano*. These Reasons were generally thought mean, and not sufficient to justify so much Ingratitude to a Prince who had heaped upon them so many Favours: But, perhaps, these very Favours were the Occasion of their Revolt; as they might think that, the surest Method, on the Declension of the *French* Interest, to preserve what they had acquired.

THE Castle being thus blockaded, and the Sea at present secured, the Want of Provisions daily encreased, and the only

only Hopes the Besieged had left were the Expectation of the Succours the King had promised to send them. As soon as *Charles* was arrived at *Asti*, *Perone di Baccio* was dispatched to *Villa-Franca*, with Orders for a Fleet to be sent out with Two Thousand *Gascons* and *Swiss*, and to carry with them Provisions for the Castles. *Monf. d'Arban* was both General and Admiral ; a good Land-Officer, but knew little of Sea Affairs : He sailed to the Isle of *Porezo*, where he discovered *Ferdinando's* Fleet, that consisted of Thirty Ships, and Two large *Genoese* Vessels ; at the Sight of which he was so terrified, that he tacked about and went off : He was pursued to the Isle of *Elba*, but, with the Loss of one *Biscayan* Vessel only, he got into *Livorno*, where his Authority was not sufficient to prevent his Men from landing, and going to *Pisa*.

THIS Disappointment induced *Monpensier*, after a Siege of Three Months, to resolve on a Treaty, which was soon concluded : The Conditions were, That the Castle should be given up, if not re-

A. D.

1495

lied in a Month: That the *French* should not be molested in their Persons or Effects, but be permitted to go to *Provence*; and *Ivo d' Allegri* and Three more were delivered as Hostages. So short a Time could not admit of any Succour, but from the *French* in that Kingdom: Therefore, as soon as the Articles of the Treaty were known, *Monf. de Perfi*, with the *Swiss* which he commanded, and some Lances, accompanied by the Prince of *Bisignano*, and many other Barons, moved towards *Naples*.

F E R D I N A N D O, aware of this, had sent Count *Matalona* to *Eboli*, with an Army got together in great haste by his Friends. It was superior in Number to that of the Enemy, but at the Sight of the *French* near the Lake of *Pizzolo*, they turned and fled; yet as they were not much pursued, they got with little Loss, first to *Nola*, and then to *Naples*. *Venantio* the Son of *Giulio Verano*, Lord of *Camerino*, was taken Prisoner in the Flight. The *French* marched on to relieve the Castle, and had got so much Credit by this last Advantage, that *Ferdinando* was inclined

inclined once more to abandon *Naples*, but resum'd Courage at the Intreaties of the *Neapolitans*, who, as much out of Fear on account of their Rebellion, as of Affection to his Person, pressed and prevailed on him to stay. He posted his Army at *Capella*, and to prevent the Enemy's Approach to the Castle, formed a Line from the Mountain *St. Ermo* to Castle *dell' Uovo*, and lined with Artillery and Soldiers all the Hill, as far as *Capella*, and beyond it.

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1495

THE *French* came by the Way of *Salerno* to *Nocera*, through *Cava*, and by the Mountain of *Piedigrotta*, had got into *Chiaia* near *Naples*: But they found all Places so well defended, *Ferdinando* so resolute, and were so annoy'd by the Artillery from the Mount of *Pizzifalcone*, (so famous for the sumptuous Feasts of *Lucullus*) which commands Castle *dell' Uovo*, that they did not think proper to approach *Capella*: It was not possible for them to remain long in the Post they were in; for Nature, that has bestowed on that Coast many Delicacies, has not provided it with fresh Water. This obliged them to retire
in

A. D. 1495. in such Haste, that they left behind them two or three Pieces of Artillery, and part of the Provisions they had brought to supply the Castle.

FERDINANDO, without raising the Siege, followed the Enemy, and encamped his Army in the Plain of *Palmi*, near *Sarni* *.

MONPENSIER, despairing now of any Relief, left Three Hundred Men in the Castle, which was a sufficient Number both for the Provisions and for the Defence; and after putting a Garrison in Castle *dell' Uovo*, he embarked in the Night, with Five and Twenty Hundred Men in his Fleet, and went to *Salerno*. *Ferdinando* complained greatly of this Proceeding, alledging, that *Monpensier* ought not to have gone off before the Time of surrendering was expired, without giving up both the Castles. He was once disposed, as the Laws of War permitted him, to revenge this Breach of Faith with the Blood of

* At this Place there was a Battle fought between *Marcellus* and *Hannibal*.

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of the Hostages, especially when he found *A. D.*
the Garrison refused to surrender at the ^{1495.}
Time stipulated.

THEY stood out above a Month be- *Castle Nuovo*
yond the Term of their Capitulation, and *surrenders.*
then being almost famished, gave up the
Castle, but on Condition the Hostages
should be released. Soon after the Gar-
rison of *Castle dell' Uovo* agreed also to re-
tire, in case they were not relieved before
the first Day of the following Lent.

ABOUT this Time died at *Messina* *Death of*
Alfonso of *Arragon*, whose Glory and For- *King Al-*
tune, which had rendered his Name so *fonso.*
illustrious, when Duke of *Calabria*, was
converted into Infamy and Misery, after
he ascended the Throne. It was reported,
a little before his Death, that he repented
of his Resignation, and begged his Son
to suffer him to return again to *Naples*,
where the Hatred, formerly conceived
against him, was now changed into Be-
nevolence. But *Ferdinando*, according to
the common Practice of Mankind, actu-
ated more by a Regard to his private In-
terest,

A. D. ¹⁴⁹⁵ *terest, and the Pleasure of reigning, than by Duty and Filial Affection, gave him an Answer, not less sharp than prudent; which was, that the best Course for him would be to stay till the Kingdom was so settled, that he might never more be obliged to abandon it.*

FERDINANDO, to strengthen his Interest with *Spain*, obtained the Pope's Dispensation, to marry his Aunt *Giovanna*, the Daughter of *Ferdinando*, his Grand-Father, and of *Giovanna*, Sister to the present King of *Spain*.

Siege of
Novara.

WHILST the Castles of *Naples* were besieging, the City of *Novara* was very much straitned; for the Duke of *Milan* had a powerful Army, and the *Venetians* were so earnest in assisting them, that it was thought they had seldom been less sparing of their Money than on this Occasion *.

THERE

* The *Venetians* expended One Hundred Thousand Golden Ducats a Month to support this War. *Alessandro Benedetti*.

THERE were reckoned in the Allied Army Three Thousand Men at Arms, Three Thousand Light-Horse, a Thousand *German* Horse, and Five Thousand *Italian* Foot : But the Strength of this Army consisted in Ten Thousand Lance-Knights, the Name by which the *German* Foot were commonly known. These were mostly in the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, and were intended to oppose the *Swiss* : For the *Italian* Foot had lost their Credit, since the Arrival of the *French*. The *Germans* had many brave Commanders ; the chief amongst them was *Giorgio di Pietrapanta*, a Native of *Austria*, who sometime before had served under *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, and established his Reputation at the Siege of *St. Omers*, which he took from the *French*.

THE *Venetians* thought it as necessary to encourage their Army, as to increase it. They, therefore, conferred on the Marquis of *Mantua* the Title of Captain-General of their Forces, who, before his brave Conduct in the Battle of the *Taro*,
had

A. D. had only the Name of Governor, and as
^{1495.} an Example of Generosity for ever to be
recorded, they not only increased the Pay
of those who behaved gallantly in that
Action, but gave Pensions to several Male
Children of the Slain, and Portions to
their Daughters.

WITH this great Army the Siege was
carried on : The Confederates, who were
determined mostly by what *Lodovico* pro-
posed, had resolved, by his Advice, not to
run the Risque of a Battle, unless they were
forced. They fortified themselves in pro-
per Places about *Novara*, to prevent its
being supplied with Provisions, of which
they knew there was such a Scarcity in the
Town, that it would soon be obliged to
surrender, if not speedily supplied : For
besides the Inhabitants and Peasants, who
had resorted thither, the Duke of *Orleans*,
between *French* and *Swiss*, had above
Seven Thousand chosen Men. There-
fore *Galeazzo di San Severino*, as he could
not well take the Town by Assault, en-
camped at the Mills, with the Duke of
Milan's Army, a Place very convenient
to hinder Provisions coming from *Vercelli*.

THE

THE Marquis of *Mantua*, with the *Venetians*, took several Villages, Sword in Hand; got the Castle of *Brione*, which was of some Importance, and supplied *Camariano* and *Bolgari*, that lay between *Novara* and *Vercelli*: Then to hinder the Town from any Sort of Communication with the Country, they distributed the Army in proper Posts about *Novara*, and fortified all their Quarters.

ON the other Hand, the King of *France*, to be nearer that Town, went to *Turin*, from whence he made frequent Visits to a Lady at *Cberi*, for whom he had a great Regard: But Gallantry did not take off his Attention from providing what was necessary for the War: He was very solicitous in getting Two Thousand Lances from *France*, and no less in hastening the Arrival of Ten Thousand *Swiss*, whom the Bailiff of *Dijon* was gone to enlist. On their Arrival, he intended to relieve *Novara* at all Events, but without them he would not venture to attempt any Thing of Consequence.

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1495.

FOR the *French* Nation, though potent in Cavalry, and noted for its great Quantity of Artillery, and Skill in managing it, yet was very weak in Infantry; because the Use of Arms and Military Exercises of late had been encouraged only amongst the Nobility; and the common People were degenerated from their Ancestors. This proceeded from a long Cessation of Wars, when the lowest Sort applied themselves to Mechanical Employments, and attended only to reap those Profits which accrue from Trade in Times of Peace.

To encourage this Disposition, several of the last Kings had disarmed the People, and endeavoured to alienate their Minds from Military Exercises, induced thereunto by various Instances of popular Insurrections and Rebellions. The *French*, on this Account, could not trust to the Valour of their own Infantry, but went timorously to War, if their Army was not provided with a sufficient Body of *Swiss*. Their Nation, ever unconquered and fierce, had


had greatly encreased its Reputation for these Twenty Years last past: For when they were attacked by the powerful Army of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who for his Courage and Power was a Terror, not only to *France*, but to all his Neighbours, in a few Months they beat him three Times; and at last he was found dead amongst the Slain, but whether killed in the Battle or Flight, was never particularly known. It was therefore on Account of their Courage, and because the *French* had no Sort of Emulation, or Reason to be jealous of them, as they were of the *Germans*, that they inlisted no other Foreign Foot but *Swiss*, and made use of them in all important Wars: And well knowing how difficult and dangerous it was to succour *Novara*, furrounded by so vast an Army, and fight against such a Body of *German* Foot, who had the same Discipline as the *Swiss*, they never expected their Arrival with more Anxiety, than at this Juncture.

THE City of *Vercelli* is situated between *Turin* and *Novara*: It was formerly a

A. D. 1495. Member of the Dutchy of *Milan*, but yielded by *Philipppo Maria Visconti*, during the long War he was engaged in with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, to *Amadeo* Duke of *Savoy*, to keep him from entering into an Alliance with his Enemies. Neither Side as yet had sent Soldiers into this Town; for the Dutcheſs, Mother and Guardian to the young Duke of *Savoy*, was quite *French* by Inclination, but would not discover her Sentiments till ſhe could be protected; and, therefore, had hitherto amused the Duke of *Milan* with ſmooth Speeches and flattering Hopes: But when the King, who had now a numerous Army, came to *Turin*, ſhe conſented that he ſhould put a Garrifon in that Town, which, on Account of its Situation, encreaſed greatly his Hopes of relieving *Novara*, when all his Forces ſhould be got together.

THE Confederates began to be doubtful of their Succeſs, and, therefore, to encourage them, and to ſettle a Plan for future Operations, *Lodovico Sforza* went in Perſon to the Army, accompanied by
Beatrice

Beatrice his Wife, his constant Companion, as well in Affairs of Moment, as in Diversions. In his Presence, and, as reported, by his Advice, after many Debates, it was concluded by the Generals, that, for mutual Safety, the *Venetians* should join the *Sforza* Army at the Mills, after leaving sufficient Garrisons in all the Places about *Novara*, which might any ways contribute to the Siege: That *Bolgari* should be abandoned, as being only Three Miles distant from the Town; for if the *French* should attack it with a great Force, they should be obliged, either shamefully to deliver it up, or, contrary to what had been settled, put the whole Army in Motion to protect it: That in *Camariano* (which was three Miles from their Camp) the Garrison should be augmented, and the Camp be fortified with Ditches, Barriers, and a great Quantity of Artillery; frequent Consultations should be held about what new Measures were proper to be taken, according to the Motions of the Enemy; and, lastly, not to omit to cut down the Trees, and to destroy every Thing up to the Walls of

A. D. 1495  *Novara*, that might be of any use to the Besieged, or their Horses, of which there were a great Number in the Town.

THESE Things being settled, and a general Review made of the Army, *Lodovico* returned to *Milan*, to be at Hand to make the necessary Provisions that from Time to Time would be required: And that the Spiritual Arms might be assistant to the Temporal Forces, the Allies prevailed on the Pope to send one of his Mace-Bearers to *Charles*, commanding him in Ten Days to quit *Italy* with his Army: He assigned him another short Time to withdraw his Troops from the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, in Case of Disobedience, cited him to appear in Person at *Rome*, under the Penalty of Spiritual Punishments, accompanied with the Threats usually denounced on such Occasions.

THIS was a Step formerly taken by Popes on dangerous Occasions. Thus we read that with no other Weapons *Adrian*, the first of that Name, obliged *Desiderio*, King of the *Lombards*, who was marching

marching with a powerful Army towards *Rome*, to return to *Pavia*, after he had advanced as far as *Terni*. But in our Days that Reverence and Majesty, which the Sanctity of the Popes Lives had procured them, was wanting; and it was not at all likely, that different Manners and Examples should produce the same Effects. *Charles*, therefore, treated this Order with Scorn, and made answer, That since his Holiness, at his Return from *Naples*, did not think proper to wait for him at *Rome*, whether he was going, in an humble Manner, to kiss his Feet, he wondered very much he should desire to see him now; however, in Obedience to his Commands, he should apply himself seriously to force his Way to him; and that he might not take so much Trouble in vain, he begged he would not be out of the Way.

CHARLES, about this Time, concluded a new Treaty at *Turin* with the *Florentine* Ambassadors, but not without a strong Opposition from such of his Ministers, who formerly had shewn themselves no

Friends to that Republic, and who unluckily had now an Occasion given to raise fresh Objections. After the *Florentines* had recovered the Castles, which lay on the Hills near *Pisa*, and obtained *Pontefacco*, on Condition that the Soldiers should retire in Safety, contrary to this Capitulation, they had put to the Sword several of the *Gascons* in the Fort, as they marched out intermixed with the *Pisans*, and afterwards exercised diverse Instances of Inhumanity against the dead Bodies.

THE State of the Case was this: Some of the *Florentine* Soldiers, when Prisoners in the *French* Army, had been very ill used, and took this Opportunity to gratify their Revenge. The *French* Ministers well knew the Republic had no Hand in the Affair, and that many more would have been killed, if the *Florentine* Commissaries had not interposed with their Authority, and saved them. Yet their Enemies at Court made a Handle of this Action, to prove the innate Enmity of the *Florentines* to the *French*. This retarded some Time, but, however, did not hinder the

the Treaty being signed: It was executed ^{A. D.} at last, but not out of any Regard to former Promises or Oaths, but from Necessity, and Want of Money to succour the Kingdom of *Naples*. ^{1495.}

THE Articles were, That, without any Delay, all the Towns and Forts of the *Florentines* should be restored; they obliging themselves, at the End of Two Years, on a valuable Consideration, to deliver up, if the King should require it, *Pietra Santa* and *Sarzana* to the *Genoese*, provided the City of *Genoa* should, at that Time, be under his Majesty's Command: That the Ambassadors should pay down the Thirty Thousand Ducats agreed upon in the Capitulation at *Florence*, and the Republic should have Jewels in Pledge for the Restitution of the Castles; which should be forfeited, if, under any Pretext whatsoever, they were not restored: That at the Time they were given up they should lend the King Seven Thousand Ducats; for the Payment of which the GENERALS of the Kingdom of *France* should be bound: This is the Title given to Four of

¹⁴⁹⁵
A. D. the King's Ministers who collect the Revenue : That they should send these Seven Thousand Ducats into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, according to Instructions, distribute them amongst the King's Forces, not excepting the *Colonnas*; for although there was a flying Report of *Prospero's* Desertion, yet no authentic Account was arrived : That, provided they were not engaged in a War in *Tuscany*, they should send Two Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms into the Kingdom of *Naples*; and if they had no other War but what concerned *Montepulciano*, they should send thither *Vitelli*, with the Men he commanded in the *Pisan*; who should not be obliged to stay any longer than the End of the Month of *October*: That the *Pisans* should have a general Indemnity, and the *Florentines* should begin immediately to restore their Effects, and give some Encouragement for their Improvement in Arts and Sciences : That for a Security of the Performance of these Articles, they should send Six Hostages, of the principal Citizens of *Florence* at the King's Choice, who
should

should remain for a certain Time at his Court. A. D.
1495.

As soon as the Treaty was signed, the Thirty Thousand Ducats paid down, and the Jewels delivered, Letters and Orders were dispatched to the King's Governors to restore the Towns and Forts, and the Thirty Thousand Ducats were immediately sent into *Switzerland* for the new Levies.

ALL this while the Hardships in *Novara* daily encreased, but were very chearfully borne by the Soldiers, who considered the Risque the People had run by their Rebellion, and admired their Resolution in defending themselves: The Provisions were become so scarce, that they were almost famished; for tho' the Duke of *Orleans* had sent out of the Town the useless Mouths, that was not a sufficient Remedy. The *French* and *Swiss*, who were not accustomed to Hunger, began to sicken; the Duke had also got a *Quartan Ague*, and, to no purpose, pressed the King continually to send Provisions; for,

as

A. D. 1495. as he had not got all his Men together, he could not so easily, and as soon as was necessary, give them Relief.

THE *French* attempted several Times in the Night to throw in Provisions, and escorted them with large Parties both of Horse and Foot; but they were always discovered, and obliged to retire, and sometimes with no small Loss. The Marquis of *Mantua*, to straiten them still more, attacked the Monastery of *St. Francesco*, contiguous to the Walls of *Novara*, and having taken it, he put in a Guard of Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand *German* Foot: This gave great Ease to his Soldiers, who before were obliged to patrol about the Highway to intercept Provisions, but now being possessed of this Monastery, they commanded the Road that leads to the principal Gate, through which they used to be introduced.

THE next Day the Marquis took the Bastion which had been erected by the *French* in the Suburb of *St. Nazaro*, and the Night following got Possession of
the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 379

the Suburb itself, and the other Bastion A. D.
contiguous to the Gate, and then fortified 1495.
the whole. Count *Pitigliano*, who had
the Title of Governor from the *Venetians*,
was dangerously wounded on this Occasion
by a Musket-shot, and had like to have
died.

THE Duke of *Orleans*, finding it to
no Purpose to defend any longer the other
Outworks which he had fortified in the
Night-time, ordered them to be set on
Fire, and drew off all his Men to the
Defence of the City, which was almost
furnished: But he began now to entertain
some Hopes of Relief, as he heard the
Swiss were daily arriving, and the *French*
Army, after passing the River *Stesia*, and
putting a Garrison in *Bolgari*, was en-
camped within a Mile of *Vercelli*, with
an Intention to wait there for the *Swiss*,
and then raise the Siege: But this must
have proved a difficult Task; for the
Italians were entrenched in a strong Situ-
ation, the Way from *Vercelli* to *Novara*
was full of Water, the Ditches deep and
wide all over the Country, and *Canariano*,
which

A. D. 1495. which was garrisoned by the Allies, lay in their Way. By Reason of these Difficulties, neither the King nor his Troops seemed as yet eager to move ; but if the Complement of the *Swiss* had arrived sooner, he would certainly have risked a Battle, the Event of which would have been dubious.

EACH Side being now sensible of their Danger, there were not wanting secret Overtures of Peace between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, tho' with little Hopes of Success, on account of the Jealousies they entertained of one another ; and because each out of Pride and Ostentation would seem indifferent. But Chance opened an expeditious way of bringing Affairs to a Conclusion.

THE Marchioness of *Monferrato* died at this Time, and a Dispute arose about the Guardianship of her young Son, between the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, and the Marchioness's Brother *Constantino*, who was one of the antient Lords of *Macedonia*, that had been occupied some time since

since by *Mahomet*. The King, desirous A. D.
1495. to prevent Commotions in that State, at the Instance of the People, sent *Argenton* to *Casal-Cervaggio*, where he luckily met a Gentleman belonging to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who was come thither to condole for the Death of the Marchioness. These two, in conversing, fell on a Discourse concerning the Benefit that would accrue to both Parties, if a Peace could be procured. *Argenton* was pleased with the Subject, and wrote immediately to the *Venetian* Proveditors, reminding them of what had been talked of before at the *Taro*, which he said might now be easily effected. They listened to his Proposals, and communicated them to the Duke of *Milan's* Generals; and at last it was unanimously agreed to apply to the King, who was come to *Vercelli*, and desire he would depute some of his Ministers to meet theirs, in order for a Conference.

THE King complied, and the next Day a Place was pitched upon between *Bolgari* and *Camariano*. The *Venetians* chose

A. D. chose the Marquis of *Mantua* and *Bernardo Contarini*, the Proveditor of their
 1495. *Stradiotti*; the Duke of *Milan*, *Francesco Bernardino Visconti*; the King of *France* sent the Cardinal of *St. Maló*, the Prince of *Orange* (who had lately passed the Mountains, and was created Generalissimo of the Army under the King) the Marshal *de Gié*, *Fienes*, and *Argenton*.

THE Deputies met several times, and passed and repassed to their respective Armies with the Result of their Conferences. The most material Point wherein they disagreed was concerning the City of *Novara*: The King made no Difficulty of restoring it, but desired it might be done with the least Offence to his Honour. He insisted it should be put into the Hands of one of the *German* Officers in the *Italian* Camp, who should receive it in Name of the King of the *Romans*, as Liege Lord of the Dutchy of *Milan*: But the Allies demanded it to be given up simply, and without any Condition. This Difficulty, and some others, could not be removed with the Expedition wished

wished for by the Besieged, who were reduced to the last Extremity; it being computed that, thro' Sicknefs occasioned by Famine, near Two Thousand of the Duke of *Orleans's* Men had perished. A. D. 1495.

AT last a Truce was made for Eight Days, and Leave given for the Duke of *Orleans* and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* to go with a small Retinue to *Vercelli*, but on his Parole to return to *Novara* with the same Retinue, if the Peace was not concluded. As the Duke was to pass through the Enemy's Camp, the Marquis of *Mantua*, for his Security, delivered himself up to Count *de Foix*, who commanded a Fort in the Possession of the *French* near *Bolgari*. The Soldiers in *Novara* would not have permitted the Duke to leave the Town, if he had not assured them on his Word, that he would either return in three Days, or that through his Means they should be allowed to come out; and they obliged the Marshal *de Gié*, who was come to *Novara* to accompany the Duke, to leave his Nephew in Pledge. They had by this Time consumed not only the Provisions

A. D. 1495. } visions that generally serve for the Preservation of human Life, but also their Horses, Mice, and almost every Thing which could give them any Sustenance.

As soon as the Duke of *Orleans* came to the King, the Truce was prolonged for some Days; in which time it was stipulated, that all the *French* should quit *Novara*, and leave it in the Possession of the Townsmen, who were to take an Oath not to deliver it to either Party, without their mutual Consent: That in the Citadel there should remain a Company of Thirty *French* Foot, who should be daily supplied with Provisions from the *Italian* Camp. The *French* marched out, and were escorted by the Marquis of *Mantua*, and *Galeazzo di San Severino*, but were so feeble and emaciated for want of Food, that many died a little after they arrived at *Vercelli*, and those that survived were rendered useless for this Campaign.

At this Time the Bailiff of *Dijon* arrived with the Remainder of the *Swiss*; and

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and though he had Orders to levy no more than Ten Thousand, yet he was obliged to bring Twenty; for at the News being spread of the Arrival of a *French* Officer amongst them with Money, that Number would almost forcibly be inlisted. One Half of these joined the Camp at *Vercelli*, and the other was quartered at Ten Miles Distance; for it was not thought quite safe, that so many of that Nation should be together in the same Place: Had they arrived some Days sooner, it is probable the Treaty might have been interrupted: For besides these, the Army consisted of Eight Thousand *French* Foot, Two Thousand *Swiss*, of those who came from *Naples*, and Eighteen Hundred Lances: But as Things had gone so far, and *Novara* was evacuated, the Treaty went on, although the Duke of *Orleans* with many others was strongly against it.

EVERY Day Deputies were sent to the *Italian* Camp, whither the Duke of *Milan* was come in Person to be nearer at hand to treat of Matters of such Importance; and in order to prevent Jealousies,

A. D.
1495

lousies, he never conversed with the King's Ministers, but in the Presence of the Ambassadors of the Allies. At last the *French* Deputies returned with the final Resolution of the Confederates. The Articles they were willing to agree to were these : That there should be a perpetual Peace and Friendship between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, but without any Prejudice to the Duke's other Alliances : That his Majesty should give Orders to the Citizens of *Novara*, to deliver up the Town to the Duke of *Milan*, and his Troops should evacuate the Citadel : That *Spezie* and all other Places taken in this War should be restored : That the King might equip at *Genoa*, his Fief, what Vessels he pleased, and make use of any Military Stores, provided they were not employed in Favour of the Enemies of that State ; and for the Security of this Article, the *Genoese* should give Hostages : The Duke of *Milan* should procure him the Restitution of the Vessels taken at *Rapalle*, and the Twelve Gallies detained at *Genoa*, and at his own Expence fit him out two large *Genoa* Ships, which with four
of

of his own were to be sent to the Suc-^{A. D.}
 cour of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the ^{1495.}
 Year following be obliged to have in
 readinefs three more: That he should
 give a free Pass to any Troops the King
 should send through his Dutchy in their
 Way to *Naples*, on Condition that no
 more than Two Hundred Lances at a
 Time should pass; and in case the King
 returned himself, the Duke should then
 accompany him with a certain Number of
 Men: That the *Venetians* for two Months
 might have the Liberty of acceding to this
 Peace, and if they did should be obliged to
 withdraw their Forces from the Kingdom
 of *Naples*, and give no farther Assistance
 to *Ferdinando*: If afterwards they vio-
 lated their Engagements, and the King
 on that Account declared War, the Duke
 then should assist him, and might keep
 Possession of whatever Part of their Ter-
 ritory he could make himself Master of:
 That *Lodovico*, within the Month of
March ensuing, should pay Fifty Thou-
 sand Ducats to the Duke of *Orleans*, for
 the Expences he had incurred during the
 Siege of *Novara*, remit Eighty Thousand

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Ducats of the Money he had lent the King, when he first passed through his Dominions, and allow a further Term for the Payment of the Remainder: That *Trivulzi's* Estate should be restored to him, and his Outlawry reversed: The Bastard of *Bourbon* taken at the *Taro*, and *Meaux* at *Rapalle*, and all other Prisoners should be set at Liberty: The Duke should order *il Fracassa* to depart from *Pisa*, with all the Troops he had lately sent thither, and the *Genoese* give no Obstruction to the *Florentines*, in taking Possession of their Forts, nor disturb them afterwards in the Possession of them: That the *Castelletto* of *Genoa* should for two Years be put into the Hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was come to the *Italian* Camp at the Desire of both Parties, but he should take an Oath to deliver it any Time within that Term, to the King of *France*, in case the Duke of *Milan* did not perform the Articles of this Treaty: *Lodovico*, on the signing of the Peace, should give Hostages to remain with the King, till the *Castelletto* was delivered to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

As soon as the Deputies brought these Articles, the King summoned a Council, in which his Ministers were of different Opinions. *Monf. de la Tremouille* thus opened the Debate.

“ IF in this present Council we were only to treat, Great King! of what relates to the Glory of *France*, I should with more Caution give an Opinion, which might, perhaps, expose the Person of your Majesty to farther Perils, though you have always seemed to despise them: For inflamed by Love of Glory, you determined against the Advice, and against the Entreaties of almost the whole Kingdom, to pass last Year into *Italy*, in order to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Success of which was crowned with so much Honour and Renown. But the Question now is not whether we are to refuse an Opportunity of acquiring more Honour and Glory, but rather whether we are to dispute, and lose what we have already acquired with so much Danger and Expence, convert our Glory into Ignominy, and

Tremouille's
Speech.

A. D. make your Majesty contradict your own
 1495 Deliberations. You might, Sire! without
 any Reflection, have remained unactive
 in *France*, nor could that have been attributed to any other Motive but Indolence and the Pleasures of Youth: Whereas your Return on the Conditions now proposed, will be imputed to Timidity and Cowardice. Your Majesty, on your late Arrival at *Asti*, might have repassed the *Alps* with less Reproach, demonstrating to all the World, that the Preservation of *Novara* was not your Concern: But now that you have fixed here with your Army, and declared you are come to oblige your Enemies to raise the Siege, and for this Purpose sent for so many of your Nobility out of *France*, and at an immense Expence, insisted so great a Body of *Swiss*, who can doubt but that your own, and the Kingdom's Glory, will be converted into Shame, if the Siege is not raised? But there are still stronger, and more urgent Reasons; if in a King's Breast there can be any Thing stronger, than the Passion of Glory and Renown. Our Return into *France*, after giving up *Novara* by
 Agree-

Agreement, is in reality giving up the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, abandoning to Destruction so many brave Officers, and *French* Nobles left there on your Promise of a speedy Assistance, of which they must despair, when they hear that on the Frontiers of *Italy*, at the Head of such a powerful Army, you have been obliged ingloriously to truckle to your Enemy. Every one knows that Reputation has no small Share in the Success of a War, and as the Valour of the Soldiers declines, so does the Opinion of the People in their Behalf, and also the Revenues necessary to support it : Whilst on the contrary, for the same Reasons, the Courage of the Enemy encreases, their Doubts are removed, and the Difficulties of the Adversary improved to their Advantage. Therefore our Army deprived of its Vigour by this unhappy Retreat, and the Reputation of the Enemy thereby established, who can doubt, but we shall soon hear, that all the Kingdom of *Naples* has rebelled, that our Army is destroyed, and that an Enterprize, undertaken and prosecuted with so

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much Glory, has produced no other Effect than Disasters, and irreparable Infamy? For whoever asserts that this Peace is made without Compulsion, betrays his Ignorance of the present Posture of Affairs, and of the Temper of those we are treating with; since it is obvious to every one, that as soon as we have left *Italy*, not one of these Articles will be observed, and instead of our receiving the stipulated Succours, they will be sent to *Ferdinando* against us. Those very People you give Peace to, will boast they have expelled us out of *Italy*, and will enrich themselves with our Spoils at *Naples*. This Ignominy might be better borne, if there could be any doubt of our coming off victorious. But how can that be possible, considering the Number of our Forces, and the Opportunity we have of posting them advantageously all over the Country around us? Call but to mind, how lately, though tired by a long March, distressed for Provisions, few, and in an Enemy's Country, we successfully fought a numerous Army at the *Taro*, where that River ran fuller of the Enemy's Blood than of its own Waters!

ters! How with the Sword we opened our ^{A. D.} Way, and for Eight Days marched un- ^{1495.} controuled through the Dominions of the Duke of *Milan*, our Adversary! We have now double the Forces; instead of Three Thousand, we can reckon above Two and Twenty Thousand *Swiss*; and the Enemy's Army, though encreased with *German* Foot, yet bears no Proportion to ours. Their Cavalry is much the same, and the same the Commanders, who, after so signal an Overthrow, if forced to engage, must fight with Terror. Besides, are the Fruits of a Victory at this Juncture so inconsiderable as to be contemned? Or rather are they not such as encourage us to run some Risque? Our fighting at present is not only for the Preservation of so much Honour acquired, for the Security of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for the Safety of so many Commanders and Soldiers left behind, but for the Empire of *Italy*, which must inspire us with Courage, and will be the sure Reward of our Victory: For what other Army can be got together to oppress us, after this is routed? Their Camp contains in a Manner all the

the Arms and Soldiers *Italy* is able to produce. We need pass but a Ditch, or force a Barrier, to be put in Possession of so vast an Acquisition, as the whole Country and all the Riches of *Italy*, which will also enable us to revenge all our Injuries. If these two Motives, sufficient to animate mean and ignoble Souls, have no effect on our warlike, brave People, we need not hesitate to affirm, that our Courage, rather than our Fortune, has deserted us: For This, though with inferior Forces, at this very Instant, is ready to conduct and assist us in an Engagement, that, in a few Hours, will gain us a Victory, the Fruits of which will be so ample, as to exceed the Expectation of the most sanguine amongst us.

BUT the Prince of *Orange* was intirely of a different Sentiment, and replied in the Manner following: “ If our Affairs, Most Christian King! were not reduced into such a narrow Compass of Time, but were in a Condition to give us Leisure to accompany our Forces with Prudence and Activity, and did not put us under a Necessity, if we continue the War, to proceed

ceed rashly, and against all the Rules of *A. D.* Military Art, I should, amongst the rest, ^{1495.} be one of those who would give my Vote for rejecting the Proposals of Peace: For truly there are many Reasons against them, and the Continuation of the War would be both honourable, and conducive to the Preservation of *Naples*: But the Condition to which *Novara*, and the Citadel are reduced, where there is not a Day's Provision left, obliges us, if we intend to relieve it, without Loss of Time to attack the Enemy; and if we should give it up, with a Design of transferring the War to some other Part of the *Milanese*, the Winter approaches, a Time very unreasonable for Armies in those Low Countries full of Water. Our present Situation in regard to the Temper and Number of *Swiss* is such, that if they are not immediately put on Action, they may prove more pernicious to us than to our Enemies. The Scarcity of Money, on which Account we cannot long subsist here, compels us to put a very speedy End to the War, and this cannot be compensated any other Way than by a Peace

or

A. D. or a Battle, which at present is so
1495. dangerous, that it would be called Rash-
ness and Imprudence to attempt it: For
the Enemy's Camp is so strong, both by
Nature and Art, they having had so long
a Time to fortify it, the Places about so
well provided for and guarded, the Coun-
try, on Account of many Ditches and
Waters, so inconvenient for the Horse,
that whosoever would undertake to assault
them at once, without first securing the
Ground Inch by Inch, would run a great
nay certain Danger of being defeated. For
by what Reasoning, by what Rules of
War, by what Example is so vast an Ar-
my to be attacked in their strong En-
trenchments, so well lined with Artillery?
It would be necessary, unless we leave all
to Chance, first to dislodge them from
some of their Forts, that we might com-
mand their Camp, or hinder them from
procuring Provisions: But nothing of this,
so far as I can judge, is possible to be
effected suddenly, and can only be the
Work of Time. Our Cavalry is neither
so strong nor so numerous, as some ima-
gine; for it is well known that many of
our

our Men are sick, others with Permission,
and many without, are returned into

A. D.

1495

France, the Remainder fatigued, and more
disposed to repass the *Alps* than to fight.

The great Number of *Swiss*, the principal
Strength of our Army, are, perhaps,

as dangerous, as a small Number would
be useless; for every one who knows the

Nature and Custom of those People, must
also know how difficult it is to keep so

large a Body of them in order. And who
will ensure us that they will not be muti-

nous, especially, when by protracting the
War, which must necessarily occasion a

Scarcity of Money, their Pay, of which
they are so greedy, cannot be regular?

So that we should remain in a State of Un-
certainty, whether their Presence would

do us more Good than Hurt. In this Si-
tuation, how can we undertake any great

Action? No one doubts, but for the Pre-
servation of *Naples*, a Victory would be

better than a Peace. But in all human
Affairs, and especially in Wars, we must

often accommodate ourselves to the Ne-
cessity of the Times, and not in order to

attain what is difficult, and almost impossi-
ble,

A. D. ble, expose the Whole to manifest Dangers. Nor is Prudence less the Part of a great General than Courage. The Affair of *Novara*, Sire ! is only indirectly your Concern ; for you claim no Right to the Dutchy of *Milan* ; nor did you come from *Naples* with a Design to make War in *Piedmont*, your Intent was to return into *France*, in order to procure Money and Men to succour effectually that Kingdom, which being, in the mean Time, assisted by your Fleet from *Nizza*, the Men commanded by *Vitelli*, and aided by the Help and Money of the *Florentines*, will be able to stand out, until you return with more powerful Succours from *France*. I do not pretend to affirm, that the Duke of *Milan* will observe the Treaty, but as he and the *Genoese* are to give Hostages, and deposite the *Castelletto*, you will, at least, have a Pledge, and it is very likely, that at your Return, as *Lodovico's* Dominions lie in the Way to be first attacked, he may desire to live in Peace. In the mean Time, as the Nature of Leagues, where several Princes are concerned, is not so firm and solid, one may entertain Hopes of separating

rating some one from the rest. In fine, *A. D.*
 Most Christian King! my Counſel is for *1495.*
 Peace, not becauſe it is in itſelf advanta-
 gious and laudable, but becauſe it be-
 comes wiſe Princes, when they deliberate
 upon intricate and diſagreeable Caſes, to
 make themſelves eaſy with that which is
 moſt neceſſary, or is attended with leaſt
 Difficulties and Dangers.

THE Duke of *Orleans* ſpoke next
 againſt the Peace, and in his Speech
 made ſuch Reflections on the Prince of
Orange, as provoked him to reply with
 great Heat; which ſo irritated the Duke,
 that he gave the Prince the Lye before the
 whole Council. It was well known that
 the Prince of *Orange* had a Partiality for
 the King of the *Romans*, and his preſſing
 ſo much for Peace made People believe,
 that at *Cæſar's* Recommendation, he had
 the Duke of *Milan's* Intereſt more at
 Heart, than that of his Sovereign.

CHARLES paid a great Deference to the
 Prince's Counſel in regard to his Quality,
 Experience, and Courage, and more par-
 ticularly

A. D. particularly at this Juncture, because his Advice was conformable to his own Inclinations, and to those of the greatest Part of the Council and Army. For to their Reproach be it said, out of an immoderate Desire of returning into *France*, they were not the least affected at the Danger of losing the Kingdom of *Naples*, nor ashamed of giving up *Novara*, which they had now a sufficient Army to protect; and what is still more aggravating, to compass this favourite Point, they made an iniquitous Peace, for so it may justly be called, where there was so little Probability of the Articles being observed.

THE Peace was then concluded according to the above-mentioned Articles, which as soon as *Lodovico* had ratified, *Charles* left *Vercelli*, and went to *Turin* in a Sort of Flight. The Reason of his departing so suddenly was this: When *Lewis XI.* disbanded the *Swiss*, he used to allow them Three Months Pay. Those in *Charles's* Army, pretending that King's Bounty, as a settled Rule, now claimed it as their due, which being disputed, they were caballing amongst

amongst themselves how to stop the King, or his chief Courtiers.

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1495.

CHARLES found means to free himself from that Danger, but they secured the Bailiff of *Dijon*, and the other Officers, who had insisted them: And at last his Majesty was obliged to yield to their Demands, and give Hostages before they could be released.

THE King, more and more impatient to establish Peace, sent Marshal *de Gié*, the President *Gannay*, and *Argenton*, to the Duke of *Milan*, to desire a personal Conference. *Lodovico* seemed fond of the Proposal, but either suspecting some Fraud, or not willing to give cause of Jealousy to the Allies, proposed the meeting to be in the midst of some River, over which there should be a Bridge of Boats, or of other Materials, and between him and the King a strong Barrier, in the same manner as heretofore the Kings of *France* and *England*, and other Western Princes had met.

THE HISTORY OF

THIS was refused by the King as beneath his Dignity ; so he took the Hostages, and sent *Perone di Baccio* to *Genoa*, to receive the large Vessels agreed for, and to fit out others at his own Expence, in order to succour the Castles of *Naples*, which he knew had not been relieved by those sent from *Nizza*, and that they were to be surrendered, if not succoured in Thirty Days. His Intention was to put immediately Three Thousand *Swiss* on board the Fleet, which was retired to *Livorno*, and on other Ships which were daily expected from *Provence*, then joining to these the large *Genoesse* Vessels, order them directly to *Naples*, where such a Force was certainly necessary, the Port of *Naples* being full of the Enemy's Vessels ; for besides those which *Ferdinando* had brought with him, the *Venetians* had sent Twenty Gallies, and Four Ships.

ARGENTON was sent to *Venice* to press the Senate to come into the Peace, and then the King, accompanied by his whole Court, began his Journey with so much

much Speed and Eagerness, that he could not be prevailed on to wait a few Days in *Italy*, to receive the Hostages of the *Genoese*, who would certainly have sent them, had he tarried a little longer. A. D. 1495.

ABOUT the End of *October* 1495, *Charles* returned over the Mountains, more like a vanquished than a victorious Prince. He left in *Asti*, which he gave out he had bought of the Duke of *Orleans*, Five Hundred *French* Lances under *Gianjacopo Trivulzi*, but the Duke was not able with all his Authority to keep them from following the King a few Days after his Departure. In this manner *Charles* quitted *Italy*, without making any other Provision for the Kingdom of *Naples*, than the Ships that were arming at *Genoa* and *Provence*, and the Money and Aid promised by the *Florentines*.

IN giving the History of these Times, I think it ought not to be forgot, that amongst all other Calamities which overwhelmed *Italy*, by this Invasion of the *French*, or were at least attributed to it, a

First Appearance
of the
French
Disease.

A. D. 1495. new and unheard of Distemper broke out, by them called the *Neapolitan*, but by the *Italians* the *French* Disease; because it shewed itself first among the *French*, whilst they were at *Naples*, and on their Return was spread all over *Italy*.

THIS Distemper, either quite new, or never known before in our Hemisphere, unless in its remotest Parts, has made for a Number of Years such a Havock, that it deserves to be mentioned as a fatal Calamity. It first discovered itself either with ugly Boils, which often became incurable Wounds, or with acute Pains in all the Joints and Nerves throughout the Body. The unexperienced Physicians applied not only improper, but often contrary Medicines, which irritated the Distemper, and deprived of Life a Multitude of both Sexes, and of all Ages.

MANY became deformed, uselefs, and subject to perpetual Pains, and the best Part of those who seemed to be cured, relapsed into the same Misery. But as some Years are now elapsed, either because the
Celestial

THE WARS IN ITALY. 405

Celestial Influence, which produced it in *A. D.* 1495. so virulent a manner, is mitigated; or that by length of Time, proper Remedies have been found out, it has lost very much of its Malignity, and has also metamorphosed itself into several different Shapes since its first Appearance.

THIS is a Calamity which the present Generation might with reason complain of, if it were transmitted to them by their Parents: But it is a received Opinion, that never, or at least very seldom, any one is afflicted with this Disease, any other way, than by his own acquiring.

HOWEVER, the *French*, in Justice, ought to be cleared from this ignominious Imputation, for it afterwards plainly appeared that the Distemper was brought to *Naples* from *Spain*; nor was it the Product of that Country; it was convey'd thither from those Islands, which, about this time, through the means of *Christopher Colombo*, a *Genoese*, began to be known in our Hemisphere: But Nature has been indulgent
to

A. D.

1495

to the Inhabitants of those Islands, in providing an easy Remedy; for, by drinking the Juice of a particular medicinal Wood which grows among them, they are intirely cured.

The End of the First VOLUME.



The Translator having made use of several Names as expressed in the *Italian*, where he imagined they might not be offensive to the Ear, has thought proper to add this Explanation.

<i>Carlo</i>	<i>Charles</i>
<i>Lorenzo</i>	<i>Lawrence</i>
<i>Giovanni</i>	<i>John</i>
<i>Lodovico</i>	<i>Lewis</i>
<i>Maria</i>	<i>Mary</i>
<i>Piero</i>	<i>Peter</i>
<i>Pietro</i>	
<i>Maddalena</i>	<i>Magdalen</i>
<i>Giovanna</i>	<i>Joan</i>
<i>Hannibale</i>	<i>Hannibal</i>
<i>Francesco</i>	<i>Francis</i>
<i>Carlotta</i>	<i>Charlotte</i>
<i>Henrico</i>	<i>Henry</i>
<i>Obigni</i>	<i>Aubigny</i>
<i>Fieschi</i>	<i>The same Name.</i>
<i>Fiesco</i>	
<i>Bentivogli</i>	<i>The same Name.</i>
<i>Bentivoglio</i>	
<i>Livorno</i>	<i>Leghorn</i>
<i>Jacopo</i>	<i>James</i>
<i>Paolo</i>	<i>Paul</i>
<i>Tomaso</i>	<i>Thomas</i>
<i>San Vincentio</i>	<i>Saint Vincent</i>
<i>Bernardino</i>	<i>Bernard</i>
<i>Castle Nuovo</i>	<i>The New Castle</i>
<i>Castelleto</i>	<i>The Little Castle</i>
<i>Nizza</i>	<i>Nice.</i>

ERRATA

Page 9. f. notable, r. not able. p. 28. f. his natural Son, r. Alfonso's natural Son. p. 31. 208. f. ecclesiastic, r. ecclesiastical. p. 37. f. this Will, r. her Will. p. 63. f. their natural, r. the natural. p. 89. f. received, r. suffered. p. 111. f. Baille, r. Bailiff. p. 145. f. but instead of following, r. but the Enemy, instead of following. p. 155. f. Fronto, r. Tronto. p. 189. f. Magistrate, r. Magistracy. p. 192. f. Cardinals, r. Cardinal. p. 200. f. implicable, r. implacable. p. 202. f. Semigaglia, r. Senigaglia. p. 220. f. and happy, r. and are happy. p. 226. f. Alfonso like, r. Alfonso was. p. 262. f. contending, r. contended. p. 334. f. amonst, r. amongst. p. 362. f. Palmi, r. Palma. &c. &c.

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